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ABSTRACT

One of a series of monographs published as part of a UNESCO program to analyze the communication policies of selected countries, this report provides information about Nigeria. Various sections of the report discuss the following topics: (1) Nigeria's socioeconomic and political geography, (2) its system of mass communication, (3) its public policies concerning the mass media, (4) the policies of its mass media, (5) the distribution of professionals in the various print and broadcast media, and (6) an alternative communication policy for the country. An appendix contains tables of data, a copy of the code of conduct for the Nigerian press and an editorial on that code, and a list of newspapers and magazines that have been published in Nigeria since 1859. (FL)

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Communication policies in Nigeria

Frank Okwu Ugboajah

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Preface

Communication policies are sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems. They are shaped over time in the context of society's general approach to communication and to the media. Emanating from political ideologies, the social and economic conditions of the country and the values on which they are based, they strive to relate these to the real needs for and the prospective opportunities of communication.

Communication policies exist in every society, though they may sometimes be latent and disjointed, rather than clearly articulated and harmonized. They may be very general, in the nature of desirable goals and principles, or they may be more specific and practically binding. They may exist or be formulated at many levels. They may be incorporated in the constitution or legislation of a country, in overall national policies, in the guidelines for individual administrations, in professonal codes of ethics as well as in the constitutions and operational rules of particular communication institutions.

The publication of this series of studies has been undertaken as part of the programme, adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its sixteenth session, related to the analysis of communication policies as they exist at the different levels—public, institutional, professional—in selected countries. The aim of the series is to present this information in a manner that can be comparable. Thus an attempt has been made to follow, as far as possible, a fairly similar structural pattern and method of approach, which were agreed between the national institutions undertaking the work.

Within this series of monographs the first five studies are devoted to European communication policies. Similar studies for Latin America and Asia have been published. These are now followed by studies carried out in African countries.

This survey of communication policies in Nigeria was carried out by Dr Frank Ugboajah, Senior Lecturer of the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, at the request of the Nigerian National Commission for Unesco.

The study is not an official document of the country it refers to. The views stated therein are the author's and do not necessarily represent the official Nigerian views or those of Unesco.

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Foreword

Compiling this report was a stimulating experience. It was also a challenge. Short as the text is, writing it has contributed much to the little we know of communication, its structure and ideology in most of the countries, including Nigeria, in the African region.

First I must thank Unesco for giving me the privilege to engage in this pioneering effort, which, whatever its flaws, has provided some basic information about the communication configuration in Nigeria. My friend and colleague A. O. Obilade, Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, collaborated with me in writing the chapter on the public policies of the mass media, and I owe him immense gratitude for a contribution that was most scholarly and rewarding. I should also acknowledge my appreciation of the guidance of my friend and teacher, Professor Robert Lindsay of the University of Minnesota, whose ideas about solutions for communication problems in developing countries continue to stimulate my thoughts. Given the constraint under which this assignment was undertaken, I must give full marks and appreciation to my secretary, Mrs Remi Akintomide, who worked assiduously, meticulously and cheerfully under pressure to make it possible for the script to be ready on time. My most profound appreciation goes to my wife, friend and confidante, Junie, who read every line of this report and kept me on my toes with her most precious analytical mind. Finally, an additional appreciation goes to my trusted friend Eva Nwosu, a political scientist, who after reading this report thought it was worth while. Every view expressed and every flaw inherent in this report should be credited to the author and not to any of the persons or bodies mentioned above.

Frank Okwu Ugboajah

1 Socio-economic and political geography

Nigeria occupies 924,522 square kilometres of West Africa. It is thus one of the largest countries in black Africa. It is more populous—an estimated 80 million persons—than the Federal Republic of Germany, France or the United Kingdom. Three of its nineteen states are each larger in population than Ghana, the next largest English-speaking country in West Africa. Nigeria's northern states, with a population of 51.5 million, are more populous than all of French-speaking black Africa. The country is one of the most populous in the world.

The only black member of the powerful Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Nigeria is the sixth largest producer of crude oil. This makes its influence formidable in the recurrent international politics of oil.

The nation's economy in fact rests mainly on oil which accounts for 85 per cents of earnings. This income was $10 billion in 1974. From an annual budget of $1,050 million in its 1962-68 development plan, Nigeria budgeted $67,500 million for the 1975-80 plan. For 1977-78 the country budgeted $13,800 million. Oil production increased by 53 per cent in three years, from 1.5 million barrels a day in 1971 to 2.3 million barrels a day in 1974. In the words of a former head of State, Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria has 'passed from a state of political dependence to that of full national independence and sovereignty, from tottering economic circumstances to our present virile and buoyant economy'.[1]

During the first quarter of 1977, Nigeria received a revenue of $2,005 million from oil-producing companies. This was 14.7 per cent above the receipt in the previous quarter. For 1977 alone, Nigeria's revenue from the petroleum profit tax was $1,496.8 million, its royalty $498.4 million, its rentals $5.6 million and miscellaneous local payments $4.2 million. The Federal Government was to spend $13,800 million for the financial year 1977-78. Table 1 lists crude-oil production and exports (in barrels) for 1976.

A record for any African country, Nigeria introduced in 1976 free primary education for all children.

It has asserted its economic influence over some African countries by giving financial aid to Benin, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Togo, Guinea and Zambia.

Nigeria has not only economic power but also military muscle in Africa.

1. *Africa Diary*, Vol. XIII, No. 41, 8-14 October 1973, p. 6666.

TABLE 1. Crude-oil production and exports for 1976 (in barrels)

Company	Production		Exports	
	First quarter	Second quarter	First quarter	Second quarter
Shell-BP/NNOC	112,752,698	113,595,077	107,275,457	107,721,044
Gulf/NNOC	25,176,050	27,570,055	24,855,674	27,100,711
Texaco	3,197,470	4,267,479	2,678,910	4,147,608
Mobil/NNOC	20,161,375	19,901,864	19,785,576	19,973,141
Agip/Phillips/NNOC	14,725,528	15,754,406	14,207,585	18,222,165
Elf/NNOC	6,645,169	6,606,296	6,474,945	6,890,144
NNOC/Ashland	924,135	852,312	—	926,784
TOTAL	183,582,425	188,547,489	175.278,147	184,981,597

Source: Nigeria Year Book 1977, Apapa, Times Press Ltd.

The force that was originally mobilized against the seceding state of Biafra has not been demobilized; the army today numbers 25,000 strong.

A political development since 1970 has been overwhelming dominance of the Federal (central) Government in the country's affairs. What was known as the federal cabinet, made up of duly elected officers, has changed its name to Supreme Military Council, made up of high-ranking generals of the army and appointed military governors. The Supreme Military Council has in effect replaced the former Nigerian parliament in the making of decisions for the whole country. Constitutional changes are now effected by decrees, not by parliamentary votes.

Etie points out that 'in the late fifties and sixties, it might still have been possible for the regional governments to survive with little or no financial help from the central government. This is hardly conceivable in the post-1970 period'.[1] As a result of the civil war, Nigeria was split into twelve states in 1967 (increased to nineteen in 1976), thus reducing the size and weakening the political influence of the original four regions. With the affluence brought about by the oil revenues, the central government's power of the purse has been increased and strengthened. The civil war experience also has transferred the concentration of political power to the centre. With a military rule, a centralized military bureaucracy was a natural expectation. Educational matters, once the exclusive concern of the former regional governments, have now been taken over by the central government. The state governments seem now to concentrate more on local matters, since they are no longer capable of intruding in national affairs. However, plans are being made to hand over political power to civilians this year (1979). The state of emergency has been lifted. New parties have been formed and political campaigns have begun.

1. Stanley Etie, 'Political Development in Nigeria since 1970', *Times International*, December 1974, p. 2.

There are more than 200 different ethnic groups in Nigeria, each speaking a different language or dialect. Three of these groups—the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Igbo—are the most populous and have languages more widely spoken throughout the country.

The main occupation is agriculture. Peanuts and cotton are cultivated in the north. Cocoa is the main cash crop in the west, while the principal crops in the east are palm oil and palm kernels used for the manufacture of such items as pomade, soap and margarine. A nation-wide campaign, 'Operation Feed the Nation', was launched in May 1977. This was a government attempt at shifting emphasis from the previous unrestrained importation of food items to increased production of food domestically. In addition to encouraging the establishment of new industries in rural areas this measure formed part of the economic measures that dominated the fiscal year 1976-77.

2 System of mass communication

Nigeria is currently witnessing a proliferation of mass-media institutions as a result of the increase in the social, economic and political power of the country. The country's balance of payments showed a surplus of $243.7 million during the first half of 1976 compared with a surplus of $542 million in the corresponding period in 1975. Its trade totalled $8,695.4 million during the first half of 1976. Its imports rose by 48.8 per cent ($3,792.8 million). The oil sector recorded a surplus of $4,468.5 million, which was $1,444 million higher than in the first half of 1975. In February 1977, Nigeria hosted the second World Black and African Festival of Arts, which brought more than 35,000 visitors from fifty-six countries to I agos, the capital. About 15,000 artists, scholars and officials participated in the festival. In November of the same year an international trade fair was held at Lagos, which attracted exhibitors from fifty countries. The objectives of the fair, according to officials, were (a) to promote Nigerian exports by establishing new markets and widening existing ones; (b) to attract other parts of the world to the explorable areas of further development in the Nigerian economy, especially in the fields of industrial and technological development; (c) to provide a forum where businessmen, industrialists and other experts can discuss and exchange ideas on the latest technological and scientific discoveries; (d) to promote inter-African trade and more importantly economic co-operation and integration among members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the West African regional economic group established in 1975 by fifteen West African countries, of which Nigeria is a member (the headquarters is at Lagos); (e) to create an awareness of tourism potentialities in Nigeria; and (f) to foster friendly economic and political relations between Nigeria and other countries of the world.

The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria has established state stations in each of the nineteen states of the Federation, in addition to the already existing stations previously owned by the four former regions of the country. Every state is also encouraged to have a station of its own.

A national Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), has been established and is operating in colour. NTA has now acquired all the television stations formerly owned by state governments. There are at present nineteen TV stations in the country. A decision to use a tethered balloon system for the network service has reached an implementation stage. Telephone services are

planned to take advantage of this infrastructure. Also in use is a geo-stationary satellite broadcasting system for the West African region.

Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Information has set up public enlightenment centres in each of the states and is planning to establish 'information banks' to assist media gatekeepers in their jobs. The News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) has been set up and is currently running a pilot service. The directive given to the agency (under Decree 19 of 1976) was (a) to seek, obtain and otherwise receive through subscription, payment, exchange or other means, international, regional, local and other news, news material and news features; (b) to distribute such news material and news features to subscribers against payment either in the form of fees or news exchange or on such other terms as may be agreed; (c) to present complete, objective and impartial information, news or news material or features on any matter of public or national interest within and outside the Federation; and (d) to report truthfully and fairly, without prejudice to public and national interest, the views of all sections of the population of the Federation.

The policy of NAN, based on the directives, is stated as follows:

> The primary duty of the News Agency of Nigeria is to uphold the integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and promote harmonious relationships among the different groups in Nigeria.
>
> News and comment emanating from the Agency must be truthful, honest and fair, but must not jeopardize peace and harmony in the country.
>
> The Agency must bring enlightened opinion to bear in discussing national and international issues. It must positively influence public opinion and contribute to the evolution and formulation of correct national policies.
>
> The Agency is enjoined to promote understanding among the peoples of the ECOWAS sub-region, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the world in general. It is also enjoined to respect the integrity of member-nations of ECOWAS and OAU.
>
> In its role as the national purveyor of news and opinion, and of espousing the public good, the News Agency of Nigeria must not act as an institutional opponent to any government or interests; but where it is in the public interest to report criticism of public policy, it must do so in a restrained and objective manner.
>
> In matters that affect the sovereignty or unity of Nigeria, neutrality is not expected of the Agency. It must come out firmly on the side of Nigeria without prejudice to its adherence to the truth which must at all times be its guiding light and governing principle.

Behind the creation of a Nigerian news agency lie the issues of bias and balance that dominate international thoughts on unfair communications arrangements, a situation that has resulted in a call to restore a balance in the 'international information order'. World news agencies, such as Reuters, United Press International, Associated Press, Tass, Agence France Presse and others, have often been accused of one-sided dissemination of news in favour of the developed nations and their national bases.

According to a 1976 survey by Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, an advertising agency operating at Lagos, the total circulation of twelve important dailies is

686,000 copies. Among them, the *Daily Times* has the largest circulation (200,000). The total circulation of fifteen weeklies is 1,081,000 copies, with the *Sunday Times* having the largest circulation (300,000). There are about 3,500,000 radio sets in Nigeria. About 366,000 persons, on the average, go to the cinema every week. There are eight mobile film circuits covering eighteen towns every month. Each circuit attracts between 2,000 to 3,000 spectators.

Missionaries were the first to introduce the press into West Africa. The first newspaper was the Nigerian *Iwe Irohin fun awon ara Egba ati Yoruba*, meaning a paper of information for the Egba people in Yoruba country, which was established in 1859 by an Anglican missionary, the Reverend Henry Townsend. It was bilingual in English and Yoruba, with its contents centring on marriage announcements, church news, post-office notices, trade reports and attacks on slavery and the Portuguese-led slave trade.

The success of the Nigerian press over the past century, as Coker points out, can only be recognized in terms of its role as a social service, a political weapon, a literary and historical chronicler of events and a guardian and champion of the people's rights and liberties. As an industrial or commercial undertaking, the history of the press presents an almost unbroken chain of failures: 'They [newspapers] lived chequered lives of varying spans ranging from a few months in several cases to as long as forty years in the case of *Lagos Weekly Records*. Amongst contemporary units of the press, only the *Daily Times* (founded in 1925) can so far boast an uninterrupted and prosperous existence of over thirty-five years.'[1]

This trend underscores the statement by Wilbur Schramm, in his foreward to *Press in Developing Countries*, by E. Lloyd Sommerlad, that in developing countries newspapers are born in idealism and live in frustration. Many if not most, die in frustration. Fred Omu, in his *Press and Politics in Nigeria 1880-1937*, puts 'flesh and blood' to this statement in the Nigerian context, where eleven dailies have lived and died in half of a century (from 1880) and nearly the same number (thirteen daily newspapers) are now surviving (from 1937) in the next half of the century. Omu notes that 'by the mid-thirties . . . no newspaper existed to crystallize and canalize the growing nationalist influences of the late interwar years'.[2]

Press history in Nigeria also serves as a history of Nigerian nationalism; the editor and the nationalist were one and the same, and leading journalists were nearly always leading nationalists. Omu comments: 'The African press appeared due to be denial of Africans' effective participation in government and their desire to influence the trend of events and to realize the dreams of greater racial identity and dignity.' There arose then the demands for political and national persuasion and propaganda.

1. Increase H. E. Coker, *Landmarks of The Nigeria Press*, Apapa, Nigerian National Press Limited, 1968.
2. Fred I. A. Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria 1880-1937*, London, Longmans Group Ltd, 1978.

Major influences in the shaping of the Nigerian press have been colonialism, Christianity and more recently dynamic nationalism. Some Nigerian editor-nationalists were George Alfred Williams of the *Lagos Standard*, Kitoyi Ajasa of the *Nigerian Pioneer*, Ernest Sesei Ikoli of the *African Messenger*, Adeoye Deniga of the *West African Pilot* and John Payne Jackson of the *Lagos Weekly Record*. As Omu puts it, Jackson's habits and qualities cannot but capture the imagination of the modern professional journalist: 'He read widely and was able to speak with confidence on practically every current subject. In particular he was acquainted with works on British history, politics and law and subscribed to a variety of foreign newspapers and journals.' Jackson's journalism was scholarly, marked by quotations and references, and its quality 'would seem to indicate how severely standards have fallen'.

Provincial newspapers were of little consequence in shaping the evolution of nationalist politics in Nigeria; as a result nearly all influential papers were Lagos-based. From the start Lagos conferred statuts on newspapers because 'they were regarded as coming from the centre of sophistication, the fountain of enlightened values and taste' that 'represented greatness'. The same perception of Lagos as a centre of sophistication by newspaper managers tends to remain till this day. Nearly all provincial newspapers in Nigeria have 'Lagos editors', and there is a general tendency for them to compete with Lagos-based newspapers for urban-based news content. This tends to make their provincial base irrelevant and of little effect.

The emergence of modern Nigeria in 1914 was heralded by the introduction of the word 'Nigerian' in the names of newspapers. This trend actually began in 1908, when two brothers, Christopher Josephus Johnson and Emmanuel T. Johnson, founded their short-lived newspaper, the *Nigerian Chronicle*.

In the history of Nigeria there is an implied assumption that the press developed along with a more fundamental political change in Nigerian society. The change is still continuing, while the press goes on playing its differential role in both the civilian and military regimes. Some authorities hold that the strongest institution of colonial heritage is not the civil service, as is always assumed, but the press. Nigeria therefore had its newspapers to fight the cold wars that eventually led to the lifting of the shackles of colonialism on 1 October 1960, after having been under British colonial tutelage for nearly half a century.

The current communication explosion in Nigeria in the tempo of increasing economic activity would seem to support the view that the size of the communication activity reflects the economic development of a society. A high-level information executive in one of Nigeria's states once remarked that the development of the mass media in Nigeria was standing in reciprocal relationship to its economic development.[1] Nigeria's mass media and the economy

1. Ukpong Essien notes further that the information media can stimulate more directly the capacity to create further wealth by enlisting the human or non-physical variables such as improved skills and better education for economic development. See *Nigerian Morning Post*, 17 October 1972.

seem to support and boost each other. Estimated advertising expenditure for all agencies operating in Nigeria rose from N 19,197 million in 1974 to N 24,599 million in 1975, an increase of 20 per cent for additional information. Tables 2, 3 and 4 show surviving newspapers and magazines from 1965 to 1977. Data showing the historical trend of newspapers from 1859 to 1965 can be found in the appendix.

TABLE 2. Fifteen surviving national dailies, 1965-77

Name	Founding date	Place	Publisher/Editor
Daily Times	1925	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd, Lagos/Tony Momoh
Daily Sketch	1964	Ibadan	Sketch Publishing Co. Ltd, Ibadan/Dayo Duyile
New Nigerian	1965	Kaduna	New Nigerian Newspapers Ltd, Kaduna/Aminu Abdullahi
The Nigerian Observer	1968	Benin	Bendel Newspapers Corporation, Benin/Tom Borha
Daily Star	1972	Enugu	Star Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd, Enugu/Josef Bel-Molokwu
Nigerian Tribune	1949	Ibadan	The African Newspapers of Nigeria Ltd, Ibadan/Sina Bangbose
West African Pilot	1937	Yaba-Lagos	Zik Enterprizes Ltd/Jacob Aina
Daily Express	—	Lagos	Commercial Amalgamated Printers, Lagos/Omotayo Okunola-Adigun
The Nigerian Standard	—	Jos	The Plateau Publishing Corporation/Gideon G. Borde
Nigerian Herald	1973	Ilorin	Kwara State Newspapers Corporation, Ilorin/Peter Ajayi
Nigerian Chronicle	—	Calabar	Cross River State Newspaper Corporation, Calabar/Ray Ekpu
Nigerian Tide	—	Port Harcourt	Rivers State Newspaper Corporation, Port Harcourt/Maurice Domboh
The Punch	1976	Ikeja-Lagos	Punch (Nigeria) Ltd, Lagos/Alan Aroyewun
Evening Times	1973	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd, Lagos/Mike C.G. Ogbeide
The Nigerian Mirror	—	Onitsha	Olobo Press Ltd, Onitsha/T. N. Okonkwo

TABLE 3. Thirty-one surviving weekly papers, 1965-77

Name	Founding date	Place	Publisher/Editor
Sunday Times	1953	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/Tunji Oseni
Sunday Observer	—	Benin	Bendel Newspapers Corporation/Alhaji M.J.A. Baruwa
Sunday Tide	—	Port Harcourt	Rivers State Newspaper Corporation, Port Harcourt/Tony Tebekaemi
Sunday Sketch	—	Ibadan	Sketch Publishing Co. Ltd/ Sola Odunfa
Weekly Star	1970	Enugu	The Star Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd/Henry Onyedike
Sunday Punch	1973	Ikeja	Punch Nigeria Ltd, Lagos/Dayo Wright
Sunday Chronicle	—	Calabar	Cross River State Newspapers Corporation Ltd/Richard Awubi
Sporting Record	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/Cyril Kappo
Lagos Weekend	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/John Adollo
Times International	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ H. Idowu
Business Times	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ Onyema Ugochukwu
Lagos This Week	—	Ikeja	Lagos Periodical Publications Ltd/Yemi Martins
Music Express	—	Ebute-Metta, Lagos	Entertainment Press, Lagos/ Angus Okoli
Nigeria Radio/ TV Times	—	Lagos	Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Ikoyi-Lagos/Enyima Iroha
Irohin Yoruba	1945	Lagos	The Amalgamated Press of Nigeria/S.A. Ajibade
Gaskiya	—	Kaduna	New Nigerian Newspapers Ltd, Kaduna/Utman Mairiga Gida
West Africa (Nigerian Edition)	—	Lagos	Times Press, Apapa
The Leader (Catholic)	—	Owerri	Assumption Press, Owerri/ Rev. Er. Ben Chima
The Independent (Catholic)	—	Ibadan	Editor, Rev. Er. Cronin-Coltsmann
Advance (Socialist Newspaper)	—	Agege-Lagos	Nat Iwuagwu

Table 3. cont.

Name	Founding date	Place	Publisher/Editor
Sunshine	—	Ibadan	Sunshine Publishing Co., Ibadan/ Afolabi Alo
The Record	—	Nsukka	Department of Journalism University of Nigeria, Nsukka/ Ballantyne Okownna
African Impact	—	Benin	—
Sextape	—	Ibadan	Alagbara Publishing Company, Ibadan/ Funso Akindubuwa
The Truth	1951	Lagos	Ahmadiyya Mission of Nigeria/ Z.O Elias
Ilana Yoruba	—	—	Amalgamated Press of Nigeria/ Olalekan Onatade
Albisnir	—	Maiduguri	A.M. Zinnass
Sunday Star	1966	Ibadan	People's Star Press, Ibadan/ Moni Adewale
News (bi-weekly)	—	Enugu	—
Gboungboun	—	Ibadan	Sketch Publishing Company Ltd/ Joe Fadiran
The Guide	—	Ilorin	Ibrahim Publishing Company, Ilorin/ Mallam Musa Ibu-Ibrahim

TABLE 4. Twenty-eight surviving monthly magazines, 1965-77

Name	Founding date	Place	Publisher/Editor
Drum	—	Ebute-Metta, Lagos	Drum Publications Nigeria Ltd/ Olu Adetule
Trust	—	Lagos	Drum Publications Nigeria Ltd/ Nelson Bankole
Afriscope	—	Lagos	Pan-Afriscope Nigeria Ltd/ Uche Chukwumerije
Spear	1962	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ Banji Ogundele
Headlines	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ Gbenga Odunsanya
Home Studies	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ Sam Otuyelu
The President	—	Lagos	Newbreed Organisation Ltd/ Chris Okolie
Boom	—	Lagos	Drum Publications Nigeria Ltd/—

Table 4. cont.

Name	Founding date	Place	Publisher/Editor
Woman's World	—	Lagos	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd/ Tayo Adetola
Modern Woman	—	Lagos	Modern Publcation Co. Ltd/ Adunni Oladipo
African Challenge	1951	Lagos	J. K. Bolarin
Atoka	—	Lagos	West African Book Publishers Ltd/ Laoye Egunjobi
Happy Home	—	Ikeja	Punch Publications/ Patricia Alcendor
Joy	—	Lagos	Drum Publications Nigeria Ltd/ Olu Adetule
Nigerian Business Digest	—	Lagos	Universal Publications Ltd/ Alh Lateef Teniola
Nigerian Japan Trade Journal	—	Lagos	Yemostal Publicity Bureau/ Dele Ogunwale
New Era	1971	Kano	Oluseyi Press Limited/ Dr Omoh Esiemoka
Federal Nigeria	1958	—	Ministry of Information/ A.G.Y.S. Momodu
African Spark	—	Yaba	Carmen & Company Ltd./ Dr Obarogie Ohonbamu
Teen and Twenty	—	—	—/ Adeyola David (Mrs)
Indigo	—	Surulere	—/ Chike Egbuna
Black Beauty	—	—	Printers & Publishers/ G. A. Okiki
The People	—	Yaba	—/ Olu Akinsanya
Journal of Medical & Pharmaceutical Marketing	—	Lagos	F O A Atoki
The Entertainer	—	Ibadan	Sketch Publishing Co., Ibadan/ Olutade Makinde
By the Lagoon	—	Lagos	The Cathedral Church of Christ Lagos/ The Very Rev. Sope Johnson
Management in Nigeria	—	Lagos	Nigerian Institute of Management/ Gab Oviogbodu
Black Image	—	Ikeja	Funmi Lewis

What does this increase in mass communication mean to the average Nigerian? The media system itself has been found to be geared to the interests and tastes of the higher-status segments. Candon studied the audience of the Tanzanian press and found that most news presented goes to the literate person who knows the English language and lives in the city, whereas the majority of Tanzanians who speak Swahili and live in the rural areas remain out of touch. This can very

well be said of Nigeria, where Wedel and Pillsworth have noted the tendency of media-set ownership to be concentrated among the urban middle and upper classes.[1]

In trying to bridge the gap in knowledge through the communication of development issues, Nigerian mass-media people have resorted to an increasing use of the local languages, which are put at 178. Broadcasting seems to use the local languages more than the print media. But even then communication in English seems to dominate the broadcasting scene, as Table 5 shows.

TABLE 5. Comparative average percentage of English and local-language broadcasting by categories of information for northern and southern Nigeria

Categories of information	Northern Nigeria		Southern Nigeria	
	Local language	English	Local language	English
News	57.2	42.8	48.3	51.7
Sports	29.5	70.5	—	100.0
General entertainment	73.1	26.9	15.3	84.7
Religion	74.4	25.6	37.6	62.4
Education	5.0	95.0	—	100.0
Public-service announcement	78.0	22.0	30.0	70.0
General public information	68.9	31.1	36.4	63.6
Personal/social announcement	72.5	27.5	28.6	71.4
Commercial advertising	76.0	24.0	39.6	60.4

Comparative data are developed from Patrick R. Connolly, 'Language Use in Nigerian Mass Media' (unpublished manuscript), Lagos, Boy Scout World Bureau, 1975.

Of the three major Nigerian languages, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, Connolly notes that only the first two are the most utilized in the broadcast media. Igbo receives about the same broadcast time as minor languages in the country. This table does not indicate that mass-media people in Nigeria are slackening their efforts to reach their audience through the indigenous languages. Noting that the mass media provide a forum for participation, a former director-general of FRCN has urged the Nigerian mass media not simply to maintain and propagate what now exists, but to influence significantly the formulation and development of that which they are striving to define.[2]

1. John C. Candon, 'Nation Building and Image Building in the Tanzanian Press', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1967, p. 335-54. See also E. G. Wedell and M. J. Pillsworth (draft report), *The Role of Broadcasting in National Development: Nigerian Case Study*, Manchester, Department of Adult Education, University of Manchester, 1974.
2. Christopher Kolade, 'The Role of the Mass Media in Maintaining and Propagating Nigerian Cultural Identity', lecture delivered at the NBC Broadcasting House, Ikoyi, Lagos, 1974.

The result is a gradual increase of broadcasting programmes in various local languages. For example, the FRCN station in Benin, capital of Bendel State of Nigeria, broadcasts the news in six indigenous languages—Edo, Igbo, Urhobo, Ijaw, Isoko, Itshekiri. Magazine request programmes and commentaries are also relayed in eight additional minor languages, which by no means exhausts the number of languages available in the Bendel State of 3 million people.

Goody notes that a multiplicity of languages in a country might lead to an inefficient system of communication.[1] 'We do not find things easy', the head of programmes in the Bendel State says. His greatest problem is making technical words meaningful in the indigenous languages. But he feels it is being surmounted by developing these languages at local expert level and by feedback from the audiences regarded as knowledgeable in the vocabulary of their languages.

The challenge to develop Nigerian languages and culture thrown by the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria has been taken up at higher levels by Ministries of Education. Many universities in Nigeria now have Departments of Linguistics and Nigerian Culture. We might credit this to the initiative and motivational spirit of Nigeria's broadcast media, particularly the FRCN. It is evident that when graduates of these departments become available the mass media studios will have less problems in dealing with local-language programming.

1. Jack R. Goody, 'Tribal, Racial, Religious and Language Problems in Africa', in Gordon Wolstehome and Maeve O'Connor (eds.), *Man and Africa*, London, Ciba Foundation Symposium, 1965.

3 Public policies of the mass media[1]

Introduction

Part of Nigeria's colonial heritage was the law and the legal system. Coker correctly points out that 'in matters of offence against either the government or private individuals arising from newspaper publications and such other matters as copyright and contempt, it appears that the law of the United Kingdom applied to the Colony of Lagos with only slight modifications dictated by local circumstances'.[2]

The military revolutions of 15 January 1966 and of 29 July 1966 have, however, had a tremendous effect on the basis of Nigerian law, including the law relating to the press. But before 15 January 1966, the legal foundation of the press in Nigeria was to be found mainly in the constitution of the Federation (Act No. 20 of 1963), which was the supreme law of the land. Section 25 of the constitution provides:

1. Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.
2. Nothing in this section shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society (a) in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health; (b) for the purpose of protecting the rights, reputations and freedom of other persons, preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, maintaining the authority and independence of the courts or regulating telephony, wireless broadcasting, television, or the exhibition of cinematograph films; or (c) imposing restrictions upon persons holding office under the state, members of the armed forces of the Federation or members of a police force.

Thus, section 25(1) forms the cornerstone of the freedom of the press. But since 'freedom of the press' does not normally mean absolute freedom but freedom within reasonable limits, section 25(2) provides guidelines for limitations in the absence of which society cannot thrive. Any restriction to this freedom just before the military revolution must, therefore, have come within the ambit of Section 25(2). Such restrictions are found in the laws of sedition, defamation

1. This chapter was prepared in collaboration with A. O. Obilade, Senior Lecturer in Law, University of Lagos.
2. W. Ibekwe Ofonagoro *et al.*, *The Great Debate*, Lagos, Daily Times Ltd, 1978.

and obscenity, all of which have in no small measure attempted to define the limits of the function of the press to educate, to inform or to entertain the public. Those laws, therefore, formed part of the legal foundation of the press in Nigeria before the military era.

Today, by virtue of the military rule, a decree has greater authority than any provision of the constitution of the Federation. Indeed, any provision in force today remains so only because there is a decree to that effect. All provisions of the constitution relating to the press, including Section 25, remain in force by virtue of the Constitution (Suspension and Modification) Decree 1966 (No. 1 of 1966), although nothing prevents the Federal Military Government from suspending or repealing any of the provisions. It follows, therefore, that the underlying legal principles relating to the press are still to be found in the relevant section of the constitution, together with such restrictive legislation as the laws of sedition, defamation and obscenity. The legal foundations of the press thus remain the same. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the press in Nigeria today enjoys the same degree of freedom as it did in the pre-military era. Freedom is not in practice curtailed if the curtailing legislation is never enforced. The degree of freedom depends not only on the letter of the law but also on the degree of enforcement. The commonest factor that determines the degree of enforcement is the need of society or government at any relevant time. Restrictive legislation that is seldom evoked during peacetime may be evoked every day in wartime or during periods of emergency. In all cases, a balance has to be struck between the need to educate, inform or entertain the public and the need for public order and security.

It is against this background that the underlying legal principles relating to the press will be examined in outline and an attempt made to consider the future of the legal foundations of the press in Nigeria.

The law of sedition

The Federal Criminal Code, the Criminal Codes of the Southern States and the Penal Code of the Northern States create the offence of sedition. Section 51 of the Federal Code, which is in force in Lagos State, provides that any person is guilty of the offence of sedition if he

(a) does or attempts to do, or makes any preparation to do, or conspires with any person to do, any act with a seditious intention;
(b) utters any seditious words;
(c) prints, publishes, sells, offers for sale, distributes or reproduces any seditious publication;
(d) imports any seditious publication, unless he has no reason to believe that it is seditious . . .

'Seditious words' means words having a seditious intention and 'seditious publication' means a publication have a seditious intention (Federal Criminal Code, S.50). 'Seditious intention' includes an intention to bring into hatred or

contempt or to excite disaffection against the person of the Head of the Federal Military Government, and an intention to promote feelings of ill will and hostility between different classes of the population in Nigeria (Section 50(2)). An act, speech or publication is not seditious by reason only that it intends

(i) to show that the Head of the Federal Military Government has been misled or mistaken in any of his measures; or
(ii) to point out errors or defects in the Government or constitution of Nigeria or of any state thereof, as by law established or in legislation or in the administration of justice with a view to the remedying of such errors or defects; or
(iii) to persuade the citizens or inhabitants of Nigeria to attempt to procure by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Nigeria as by law established; or
(iv) to point out, with a view to their removal, any matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce feelings of ill will and enemy between different classes of the population of Nigeria. (S. 50(2).)

Thus, the press has the privilege of pointing out errors or defects in the Federal Military Government so long as the only intention is to see that they are remedied. As stated in *Director of Public Presention* v. *Obi* (1961) LAUN.L.R. based on Section 24 of the 1960 constitution (S.25 of the present constitution), 'It is clearly legitimate and constitutional by means of fair argument to criticize the Government of the day. What is not permitted is to criticize the Government in a malignant manner.'

That members of the press have to be wary in availing themselves of the privilege embodied in Section 50(2), including that of pointing out errors of the government, is clear from the fact that, under the code, incitement to violence is not an element of the offence (*R.* v. *Wallace Johnson 5 W.A.C.A.* p. 56-60). As stated by a learned writer,

> The privilege of pointing out errors and defects must often be illusory if the intention to excite violence need not be proved, since the dispassionate pointing out of errors may well excite hatred and contempt against those responsible for them. And the more grievous the error or defect, the more likely it is that hatred and contempt will be excited.[1]

Moreover, truth is not a defence to a charge of sedition, although it may be relevant in determining the real intention of a person charged with sedition. In *D.P.P.* v. *Obi,* the Federal Supreme Court rejected counsel's argument that 'any law which punishes a person for making a statement which brings a government into discredit or ridicule or creates disaffection against the government irrespective of whether the statement is true or false and irrespective of any repercussions on public order or security is not a law which is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society'.

It is important to note, however, that the written consent of the appropriate attorney-general is necessary before a person can be prosecuted for

1. D. C. Holland, *Equality Before the Law*, p. 87, 1955.

sedition and that the prosecution must commence within six months after the commission of the offence (See Federal Criminal Code, S. 52(1) and S. 52(2)).

The law of defamation

The freedom of the press to publish any matter is subject to the law of defamation. A publication is said to be defamatory if it is likely to injure the reputation of a person by exposing him to hatred, contempt or ridicule, or likely to damage a person in his profession or trade by injury to his reputation. A publication of defamatory matter in a permanent form is libel. A publication of defamatory matter by spoken words or in any other transitory form is slander. Libel is a crime as well as a tort. Section 375 of the Federal Criminal Code creates the offence of criminal libel. Truth is not a defence to a charge of criminal libel under the code unless the publication, at the time it is made, is for public benefit. It is important to note Section 380(2) of the code, which provides that the criminal responsibility of the proprietor, editor or publisher of any periodical for the publication of any defamatory matter contained in the periodical may be rebutted by proof that such publication took place without his knowledge and without negligence on his part. Also worthy of note is Section 381, which protects innocent sellers of books and newspapers.

Cases of defamation as a tort are more common than cases of criminal libel. A few aspects of the tort may be examined here.

Justification is a defence to the tort of defamation. Where the action is in respect of words containing two or more charges, the defence does not fail by reason only that the truth of every charge is not proved if the words not proved to be true do not materially injure the plaintiff's reputation having regard to the truth of the remaining charges. (Defamation Act 1961 S. 7; Defamation Law, Cap. 33, Laws of Eastern Nigeria, S. 8; Defamation Law, Cap 32, Laws of Western Nigeria, S. 11.)

The defence of fair comment is open to any person sued for defamation if the words complained of are fair comment made in good faith and without malice on a matter of public interest. The matter complained of must be an expression of opinion, not an assertion of fact. The comment must be based on true facts accurately stated.

It should also be pointed out that the publication of a matter in certain circumstances is privileged. There are two types of privilege that can be pleaded as a defence, namely absolute privilege and qualified privilege. When a publication enjoys absolute privilege it is immaterial that the matter complained of is false or that its publication was actuated by malice. The defence of qualified privilege applies to the publication of a matter in certain specified circumstances where the publication is not actuated by malice.

Publications attracting absolute privilege include statements made in proceedings before the courts in so far as they are relevant to the point before the courts; communication between a client and his legal adviser and a fair and accurate report in a newspaper of proceedings publicly heard before any court

exercising judicial authority in Nigeria if published contemporaneously with the proceedings. (See, for example, Defamation Act, S. 9.) Publications attracting qualified privilege include statements made in the protection of a common interest, for example, those made by a family member to another in respect of a family matter, and fair and accurate newspaper reports of certain matters, including any proceedings in public of a body or person appointed by law to hold a public inquiry.

The law also provides for a defence in cases in which a matter is published innocently in relation to the complainant, provided the publisher complies with the provisions of the law relating to an offer of amends (see, for example, Defamation Law, Cap. 32, Laws of Western Nigeria 1959, S. 10).

Other legislation relating to the press

In addition to the laws of sedition and of defamation there are several laws relating to the press in Nigeria. Mention may be made here of the Obscene Publications Act 1961, relating to obscenity, and the various newspaper laws, including Newspapers (Amendment) Act 1964, which in S. 4 provides:

1. Any person who authorizes for publication, publishes, produces of circulates for sale in a newspaper any statement, rumour or report knowing or having reason to believe that such statement, rumour or report is false shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of £200 or to imprisonment for a term of one year.
2. It shall be no defence to a charge under this section that he did not know or did not have reason to believe that the statement, rumour or report was false unless he proves that prior to publication he took reasonable measures to verify the accuracy of such statement, rumour or report.

Mention may also be made of the law of contempt of court. Under Section 133(2) of the Federal Criminal Code it is an offence for a witness in a judicial proceeding who has been sworn or who has made an affirmation to refuse without lawful excuse to answer a question. Thus, members of the press have no privilege to refuse to disclose the source of the information on which a publication is based whenever they are in the witness box.

A constitution Drafting Committee was set up in September 1975 and was assigned the responsibility of producing a Draft Constitution for Nigeria for submission to the Supreme Military Council (SMC). The draft was submitted to SMC in September 1976. Areas of concern of the committee were the fundamental objectives of the republic and public accountability. Other areas were the powers of the executive and legislature, the judicial system, the national economy, finance and division of powers, citizenship, citizenship rights, fundamental rights, political parties and electoral laws, the armed forces and the police. The Draft Constitution was subjected to intense debate and critical public examination in response to government appeal. The *Daily Times* showed leadership in this respect by not only giving full coverage to the debates

but also organizing a series of talks, debates of its own and symposia which finally resulted in a 718-page volume called *The Great Debate*.

One topic that aroused intense public feeling was press freedom. Despite a spirited debate by journalists and their sympathizers, the accepted Constituent Assembly opinion was that there was no need for special protection for the press purely on the ground that it could be controlled and influenced by certain groups and was therefore not immune to partisan politics. The accepted draft (Section 32 of the Draft Constitution) which came under 'fundamental human rights' read as follows:

1. Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.
2. Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions:

Provided that no person other than the Government of the Federation or a State or any other person or body authorized by the President shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatever.

3. Nothing in this section shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society (a) for the purpose of preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, maintaining the authority and independence of the courts or regulating telephone, wireless broadcasting, television, or the exhibition of cinematograph films; or (b) imposing restrictions upon persons holding office under the state, members of the armed forces of the Federation or members of a police force.[1]

The Federal Military Government on 29 November 1978 passed a decree setting up a Nigerian Press Council to be responsible among other things for 'fostering the achievement and maintenance of the highest professional standards by the press'. The council's functions include: preparing and enforcing a code of conduct for the guidance of the press and journalists in the performance of their duties, reviewing developments likely to restrict the supply, through the press, of information of public interest and importance and advise on measures to prevent or remedy such developments; inquiring into complaints about the conduct of the press; keeping a comprehensive register of names, addresses and qualifications of journalists in the country.

There is reason to say without hesitation that both the spirit of the constitution on the freedom of the press as indicated above and the spelt-out responsibilities of the Nigerian Press Council underline pertinent official policy on communication in the country. The manner in which this policy will be interpreted within the up-coming presidential politics remains to be seen. My guess is that other latent forces imminent in the cultural diversity of Nigeria will modify this policy to a large extent.

1. See Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee Containing the Draft Constitution, Vol. 1, p. 20, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1976.

Conclusions

It seems clear from the examination of the underlying legal and constitutional principles relating to the press that the press does not, in general, have any *legal* rights relating to its functions distinct from the rights conferred by law on individuals, including those who do not belong to the press. There are only a few instances in which the law accords the press a privileged position, notably in the area of defamation in relation to newspaper or broadcast reports.

The law relating to the press is strict, but it is seldom enforced strictly. In effect, although this is a military era, the press enjoys in practice a great deal of freedom—perhaps as much freedom as the press in any ideal democratic society enjoys.

It seems that the position of the press will remain substantially the same for a long time. The Military Government is very reluctant to restrict the freedom of the press. Shortly before the civil war the Military Government issued the Newspapers Prohibition of Circulation Decree 1967 (No. 17 of 1967), which came into force on 30 May 1967. The decree provides that where the Head of the Federal Military Government is satisfied that unrestricted circulation in Nigeria of a newspaper is or may be detrimental to the interest of the Federation or any state thereof, he may prohibit the circulation or sale of named newspapers in any part of Nigeria. It must be quickly pointed out, however, that the Circulation of Newspapers Decree 1966 (No. 2 of 1966) provides that any 'person who . . . does anything calculated to prevent or restrict the distribution or general sale of any newspaper in any part of Nigeria shall be guilty of an offence. . . .' With this may be compared an Edict issued by the Military Governor of the former Western Region in May 1967 imposing a ban on the *Morning Post* and the *Sunday Post*, which ban was lifted about two months later (see the *Morning Post* and *Sunday Post* (Prohibition) Edict 1967 and the *Morning Post* and *Sunday Post* (Prohibition) Revocation) Edict 1967.

The Federal Military Government has shown much interest in the function of the press. In 1969 the Federal Commissioner for Information and Labour appointed a committee to make recommendations on the future of the press in Nigeria. The committee submitted its recommendations to the government (*Daily Times*, 6 July 1972). Quite often the military authorities have commended the press for its role in the affairs of the country. As the Military Governor of Benue-Plateau State has said: 'The great work of national rescue and reawakening, in which the Nigerian press has always taken unflagging part, is not only a source of pride, but also a sign of good hope for the future of this country' (*Daily Times*, 11 July 1972).

Today there are many newspapers in Nigeria owned by the government, such newspapers having been established presumably for the purpose of emphasizing the interest of the government in the functions of the press to inform, to educate and to entertain the public.

It thus appears that in spite of the military rule and the restrictive legislation relating to the press, the press will continue for a long time to enjoy in practice a great degree of freedom, by no means much less than that enjoyed by the press in an ideal democratic society.

4 Policies of the Nigerian mass media

There is no doubt a high degree of correlation between communication growth and economic growth. Buoyed by urbanizaton, the mass media have sometimes been found as leading to an increase in literacy, in public awareness and in national economic and social development. Nigeria is standing a test of this assumption.

Surprisingly, in most developing countries, attempts at developing the mass media have not been accompanied by any discernible economic or social development. Rather, a 'terrible ascent to modernization' is witnessed. Backed by little or no relevant data, there have been policy misjudgements of one form or another in establishing the mass media. Studies on the effect of the mass media in developing countries tend to establish causal relationships between exposure to the mass media and consequent rising expectation, otherwise a backlash of increasing frustration. But the variables tested have not often accounted for the reality, testing abilities of the uneducated, yet intelligent 'developing' person. Governments of developing countries have been blamed for not having communication policies or plans to stimulate and regulate the communication process in the service of development. A plausible argument holds that African indigenous systems have never been considered in the transfer and development of the new structures.

Objective of mass communication

We shall speak of communication objective rather than policy, which could be implied within the objective itself. The objective of mass communication in Nigeria is demonstrated by the stated goal of the government, which is to provide the country with 'strong and efficient information media' to achieve the ends of fostering national reconciliation in the aftermath of a civil war, mobilizing public support for the effectiveness of national development, and presenting balanced, unbiased and timely information about conditions in the country.[1] This official goal of communication is further amplified by the following stated objectives of the government-owned Nigerian Broadcasting

1. *Guidelines for the Third National Development Plan 1975-1980*, p. 60, Lagos, Central Planning Office, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, 1973. See also the *Second National Development Plan, 1970-1974* by the same publishers, p. 225.

Corporation, now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), the major broadcasting organization in the country:

1. To provide efficient broadcasting services to the whole Federation of Nigeria based on national objectives and aspirations; and to external audiences in accordance with Nigeria's foreign policy.
2. To provide a professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture through broadcasting; to promote cultural growth through research into the indigenous culture, and to disseminate the results of such research.
3. To contribute to the development of the Nigerian society, and to promote national unity by ensuring a balanced presentation of views from all parts of Nigeria.
4. To ensure the prompt delivery of accurate information to the people.
5. To provide opportunities for the free enlightened and responsible discussion of important issues, and to provide a two-way contact between the public and those in authority.
6. To provide special broadcasting service in the field of education, and in all other areas where the national policy calls for special action.
7. To promote the orderly and meaningful development of broadcasting in Nigeria through technical improvement, the training of appropriate professional staff, programme and other exchanges with other broadcasting organizations in the country.
8. To promote research into various aspects of the communications media and their effects on the Nigerian society. (This will include audience research, the investigation of fresh methods of production, and the true indigenization of the broadcasting media.)
9. To ensure that the facilities and techniques of broadcasting in Nigeria keep pace with developments in the world of communication (e.g. FM transmission, colour television, etc).[1]

A Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) was carved out of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in 1977. Previously NBC was in charge of both radio and television broadcasting. The objective of the NTA was spelt out at its creation by Military Decree No. 24 of 1977 as follows:

To erect, maintain and operate television transmitting and receiving stations; to plan and co-ordinate the activities of the entire television network; to ensure an independent and impartial service which will operate in the national interest; to give adequate expression to culture, characteristics and affairs of the different parts of Nigeria. [See the map in the Appendix showing NTA operating stations.]

Further discussion of broadcasting will dwell more on radio, which has been in existence in the country more than a quarter of a century and has thus established some tradition and impact. A case study will be important.

The FRCN station in the Anambra State of eastern Nigeria broadcasts fourteen request programmes a week. Five of these programmes are in Igbo, the local language.

1. 'Statement of Objectives', Lagos, Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, 1973.

A study of the files and the opinion of the head of programmes reveal that the two most popular programmes are (in the indigenous language) the *Ekene Ndi Ahia* (for market people), and the *Ozi Ekene* (a message programme) for general listeners. A greater incidence of request cards and letters was observed during major festivals such as the New Yam Celebrations, Christmas and New Year. Listeners seem to be significantly involved in these request programmes. During one observational visit to this station, a listener had travelled from a provincial town about eighty miles away to protest to the head of programmes about the neglect of his requests by the station. *Ekene Ndi Ahia,* the traders' request programme, has become so popular that it receives its major support from advertisers, according to the head of programmes.

A probable reason for the popularity of request programmes in the Nigeria broadcast media may be the lure of a quicker system of communicating with loved ones who are far away, in view of the relative inadequacy of the infrastructure for this purpose—telephones, dependable roads and transportation. The gratification that listeners derive may not be the appreciation of the music they request but the message tagged to the request. These are messages of condolence, of affection, of encouragement at occupations. According to one radio official, listeners want their names heard on the air. Younger ones even mimic broadcasting formats in their letters and request that it be read accordingly. For example, a letter may end thus: 'It is me, A, saying good health to B in XYZ hospital'. This broadcasting-style emulation by the young may very well indicate empathy and listener involvement in the broadcast communication.

The *Umuaka Ekenenu,* beamed to young people of primary school age, is very popular among the state's children. Letters from them come from all parts of the state. This magazine programme creates a young persons' forum where questions sent in are discussed by their peers. A random array of questions children have asked in two months of observation centres on politics, education, child rearing, and general knowledge. One listener wanted to know why there is only one woman commissioner in his state and asked whether this was because women are not well educated or that their parents had no money to train them. Another wanted to know why a child cries when it is born whereas nobody had beaten it. Yet another asked why the sun gives heat when it shines and the moon does not. This underlines a certain amount of success by station managers in bringing about listener participation.

Another strategic magazine programme broadcast in the eastern state under discussion is the *Ekene Umunwanyi* (Greetings to Women). A radio panel of women discusses questions from listeners about marriage and love. Judging by the number of letters received during an observation, the programme is one of the most popular among the female audiences. It is strategic in that it could be innovatively used to discuss the much needed family health habits and problems of community development. Devil's advocates could be placed among the discussers to stimulate and introduce discussions on development issues such as family planning in order to generate feedback from listeners.

One of the innovative programmes of Nigerian broadcasting is the *Don Manuma* (For Farmers). The producer, Alhaji Shehu, has succeeded in creat-

ing a radio farming village, 'Alabarikawa', on the air of the FRCN station at Kaduna in Kaduna State. Actors in the radio programme are effective in teaching the adoption of innovations, such as mechanized farming, introduction of new seeds and nutritional habits through air-time village drama. The dramatic cast includes agricultural officers, a village head, 'Sarikin Noma', villagers and nutritionists. Research findings on agriculture and the government's budget proposals on agriculture are simplified and composed into Hausa songs and proverbs. The Hausa programme of the Voice of America, *American Letter to the Northern States,* a documentary focusing on agriculture and animal husbandry, is occasionally broadcast on this programme.

On the effectiveness of 'Alabarikawa' and feedback from listeners, who are mostly farmers in the villages, Alhaji Shehu notes that it has all been a success story. Many 'Sarikin Noma' (village head farmers) have asked for personal participation in this programme. They have also reported improvements in their farming methods. The rural-development sector of the government has its gate wide open for any resource the producer may require.

Emphasis in Nigerian news broadcasting, according to a state editor of the FRCN, is twofold: (a) to let the people know about government activities and (b) to tell the government what development projects or activities are going on in parts of the state.

Broadcasting stations in the country do indeed publicize and motivate co-operative efforts in rural development. News of the following kind is common on the air in Nigeria:

> State news at 3.30 p.m. Tuesday 20 August 1974,
> Radio Nigeria, Enugu, co-ops: A two-week intensive course designed to improve the co-operative and technical knowledge of leaders and managers of industrial co-operatives will start at Owerri tomorrow. The course is organized by the state Military of Co-operatives in collaboration with the Industrial Development Centre, Owerri, and the Centre for Management Development, Lagos. The Commissioner for Co-operatives, Mr A. N. Okunna, will open the course, which will be attended by sixty top co-operators. A statement from the Ministry of Co-operatives has requested the course participants to assemble tomorrow at the Owerri Urban Primary School.

The editor notes that 'from experience' he has realized that most communities do emulate what other communities are doing and that by publicizing them the media generate competition in development among the villages and explain their efforts to the government for recognition and necessary financial assistance. Community leaders visit the station on an average four times a month, demanding that the publicity privileges that were given to other communities be made available to their own. Some leaders go as far as providing transportation support to reporters and producers.

Systems of feedback

There seems to be no organized system of feedback for the Nigerian mass media, despite the stated objective in this regard of the FRCN. The only way of knowing the reaction of the audience to broadcasts is by *ad hoc* personal visits of broadcast officials, reporters and producers. Letters of complaint are also received from listeners.

An observational study at Enugu, the Anambra State capital, found that request programme letters are not chronologically filed or analysed in any systematic way; rather they are left to pile up and scatter owing to 'shortage of staff'. An official of the FRCN Kaduna, Kaduna State, complains that when feedback from listeners on certain news of development projects is communicated to responsible authorities in government, listeners are sometimes traced and victimized by some overzealous officials 'for embarrassing the state government'. This, he notes, has affected broadcast feedback, because 'we do not want to put the interest of our listeners in jeopardy'.

In order to improve feedback, a radio official has suggested that the FRCN should train its own staff correspondents and that radio executives should be made to tour the provinces to educate community leaders on the objectives of the FRCN and seek their support. He admits that present radio correspondents in some areas are largely unreliable because they are generally poorly educated. The FRCN has just introduced an audience-research section. Previously the only broadcasting authority in Nigeria with such a service was the former Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service.

The use of a medium by the mass communication consumer is a vital indicator in the assessment of the effectiveness of the medium. For Nigeria, a mass-media consumer-oriented paradigm, emphasizing the cultural norm approach, is important for the study of the information flow.

Media control and media policy

Government ownership of the media, particularly newspapers, in Nigeria may not be leading to control of the flow of information, as was generally feared in some intellectual circles. The mass media in Nigeria still function in their normal cultural way, and ownership of the newspapers by state governments, rather than bringing co-ordinated control of mass-media performance, lends it variety and flexibility. Through the resultant media proliferation state government ownership offers alternative media voices during debate on conflict-generating issues in the country.

Tony Momoh, editor of Nigeria's leading newspaper, the *Daily Times*, has said:

> We should be deceiving ourselves if we did not arrive at the inescapable conclusion that in developing countries, were there to be a choice between outside control of the press in the name of private ownership and patronage on the one hand, and

government control through policy, the choice would be control through policy. The policy . . . would be guidlines that would ensure that the press performs its duty of contributing to development in the acquisition of the basic needs of life which today are taken for granted in a developed country.[1]

Through the analysis of six leading English-language daily newspapers in Nigeria, selected on the basis of circulation, place of publication and ownership, Idowu Sobowale found that while ownership clearly influences the direction of stories carried in both the private and government newspapers, this variable does not appear to influence the prominence a story gets in a Nigerian newspaper.[2]

Luke Uka Uche holds that 'the orientation of the Nigerian press will make it hard for a political dictator to emerge. The mass media of various states [of Nigeria] critically appraise the development of events of the nineteen states of the Federation'.[3]

Newspaper policy in Nigeria can further be interpreted from the following opinion of an editor of a major newspaper in the country: 'What we are trying to do in Nigeria is what is done in Great Britain by the *Financial Times*, the *Daily Mirror* and the London *Times*. We combine popular journalism with quality journalism so as to broaden the base of readership. In terms of philosophy, we are independent and neutral in everything excepting those that affect the destiny of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular'. It is then correct to say that this policy is a result of Nigeria's position in world politics, where Africa is the 'centre-piece' in international affairs.

In general, Nigerian newspapers strive to appeal to common interests despite the fact that about 80 per cent of them are government owned. Government-owned newspapers are as responsive as private ones to controversy. Ownership may not be as strong as geographical location in moulding newspaper opinion and reportage in the Nigerian circumstance.

Broadcasting in Nigeria should also be considered more development-oriented than newspapers. The rapid expansion of broadcasting facilities in the country should be taken as an evidence of government acceptance of this concept.

The growth in the radio sector has been known to relate directly to the political type. In Nigeria, this sensibly connotes the economic philosophy of the political type. Nigeria's economic philosophy, like that of most developing countries, emphasizes the area of rural development. This philosophy has been expressed in the contents of Nigerian broadcasting (see Table 6). But when volatile issues of development are being analysed in reference to Nigeria, researchers also should look into the performance of Nigerian newspapers. Tables 7 and 8 show their behaviour during conflict issues. For example, two

1. Tony Momoh, 'The Press in Developing Countries', presented at the Goethe Institute, Lagos (13 December 1978).
2. Idowu Shobowale, 'Influence of Ownership on Nigerian Newspaper Coverage of National Issues', *Unilag Communication Review*, Vol. 1, Nos. 2/3, 1977, p. 45-9.
3. Luke Uka Uche in *Daily Sketch*, 20 November 1978.

TABLE 6. Radio attention to development issues by broadcasting stations, 1970-74.

NBC station	Public execution		Enterprises promotion		Census 1973		Corruption		Total	
	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%
Kaduna	10	30	32	50	36	37	30	88	108	48
Ibadan	9	28	2	2	16	17	—	—	27	12
Benin	12	36	30	48	44	46	4	12	90	40
Enugu	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0
TOTAL	33	100	64	100	96	100	34	100	227	100

AS = attention score; % = percentage attention score.

south-western papers (*Daily Sketch* and *Nigerian Tribune*) and a northern paper (*New Nigerian*) were deeply involved in the country's 1973 census issue because it affected their localities in some controversial way. The disputable 1973 census figures showed that northern states had gained considerably over the southern states of Nigeria, and that the western states had decreased. Newspapers representing these constituencies tended to call attention to these issues more than papers representing other constituencies. The *Nigerian Tribune*, representing the southern constituency whose population decreased, showed anti-government behaviour on the issue, whereas the *New Nigerian*, representing the northern states whose population increased, was neutral, editorially speaking.

Our endemic corruption issue of 1970 was an all-constituency concern to Nigerian newspapers, and 80 per cent of all newspaper coverage on it appeared on the front pages. There were four anti-power structure editorials

TABLE 7. Editorial opinion of newspapers on development issues

Daily newspapers	Public execution	Enterprises promotion	Census 1973	Corruption
West African Pilot	PRO	PRO	PRO	ANTI
Daily Times	NEUT	—	PRO	NEUT
Nigerian Tribune	NEUT	—	ANTI	ANTI
Daily Express	PRO	ANTI	PRO	ANTI
Daily Sketch	NEUT	—	NEUT	NEUT
Nigerian Observer	NEUT	—	NEUT	PRO
New Nigerian	ANTI	ANTI	NEUT	ANTI
Renaissance	—	—	—	PRO

PRO = Editorial supports government's stand or statement on issues.
NEUT = Editorial neither supports nor opposes government's stand.
ANTI = Editorial opposed to government's stand on issues.

from newspapers representing the southern and northern states of Nigeria. Indeed the corruption issue generated the highest amount of anti-government editorials on all issues.

Specific but different issues of rural development are emphasized by Nigeria's broadcasting stations according to the needs of their immediate localities. Our study did not wholly support the premise that mass-media behaviour in Nigeria is consistently pro-power-structure, especially on volatile issues of development. Mass-media behaviour appears moulded by the fact of geographical or administrative location, independent of ownership. This was found to be crucial in the way newspapers treated volatile issues and was particularly evident in the census and corruption controversies in the development period 1970-74.

TABLE 8. Media attention on development issues by selected newspapers

Newspapers	Public execution		Enterprises promotion		Census 1973		Corruption		Total	
	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%	AS	%
W.A. Pilot (ind.)	10	2	15	19	8	2	—	0	33	3
D. Times (ind.)	89	18	19	23	26	7	23	9	156	13
N. Tribune (ind.)	42	8	—	0	69	19	80	31	191	16
D. Express (ind.)	81	16	12	15	27	8	36	14	156	13
D. Sketch (SG.) W.	98	20	—	0	112	31	91	36	301	26
N. Observer (SG.) MW	96	20	—	0	36	10	8	3	140	12
N. Nigerian (SG.) N.	72	15	35	43	80	23	18	7	205	17
Renaissance (SG.) EC.	3	1	—	0	—	0	—	0	3	0
	491	100	81	100	358	100	256	100	1,185	100

AS = Attention score
% = Percentage attention score
ind. = Independent newspaper
SG. = State-government newspaper
W = Western state
MW = Mid-West state
N = Northern states
EC = East-central state

In general, state government-owned newspapers are more responsible and relatively as critical as, if not more so than, some privately owned newspapers in their position on sensitive issues in Nigeria's development. Their attitude is usually a function of geographical location more than ownership, and certainly guided by the ethnic constituencies the papers serve.

What is important here is that government ownership of the media, particularly newspapers, does not always lead to control of the flow of information. Expanding State media ownership in Nigeria should be viewed as a

healthy sign of proliferation and an expansion of media voices rather than a total government control. Cultural plurality in Nigerian society acts as a stopper in attempts towards media control by the government. This also helps to bring sanity and compromise among Nigerian peoples in the resolution of conflicts.

Government should regard the mass media systems of the states as complementary, not competitive, to the central media system. Tensions can be better managed in the Nigerian society not by creating a monolithic mass-media system but by encouraging media variety to give catharsis to the often charged atmosphere of its multi-ethnic constituencies, especially during periods of conflict.

5 Media manpower and professionalism

The Nigerian broadcast media take the larger share of the nation's editors. This is understandable in light of the fact that broadcasting is a wholly government affair and government seems always to be the biggest employer. With the increasing current emphasis on rural development, government attention to broadcasting has escalated considerably and, as pointed out before, communication proliferation in Nigeria is in essence an increase in the broadcasting infrastructure and in media manpower.

Print journalism in Nigeria seldom offers a training experience for broadcast journalism; instead the newspapers attract broadcast manpower.

Distribution of top media manpower

There are more media editors in the south of the country than in the north, in the proportion of about four to one. This imbalance mirrors comparative underdevelopment in many other key areas, such as the literacy rate and industrialization. The Federal Government is actually the biggest employer of key media manpower. The next most prominent employers are the state governments. The independent or private sector takes what is left over. This employment distribution hardly connotes quality of personnel. Quality journalism appears to be less prevalent in government media.

The median age for the Nigerian editor can be put at 38. This is four years higher than that of the Latin American journalist reported by Day and eleven years lower than that of the American newsman reported by Grey and Gerald.[1]

The largest number of Nigerian editors is in the 30-to-35 age range. Their youthfulness augurs well for communication in the country. Young editors will have acquired enough experience on the job and will have gained enough time to pass their knowledge to their successors. One might postulate here that the oft-talked-about virility of the Nigerian press, in comparison with its counterparts in other African countries, can partly be explained by the relative youth of the country's media personnel.

1. John Laurence Day, *Analysis of Efforts Towards Professionalisation of Latin American Journalists*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1966, p. 239-62. See also David L. Grey and J. Edward Gerald, *How the Newsman Lives—A Self Image Study*, unpublished paper delivered at the Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Austin, Texas, 1964.

Education of media editors

Nigerian editors are all married. About half of them have had at least a secondary (high school) education. One person in every four has had at least a primary (elementary) school education, and one in four has attended a university and could possibly be in possession of a bachelor's or a post-graduate degree. As in the United States, where the younger journalists have more formal education than the older ones, there is a trend in Nigeria for younger editors to acquire better education than their predecessors. Most of those with secondary education are 40 years and under. Those who have attended a university are under 40 years of age. It is likely that few editors of 30 years of age and under are without a university degree.

This trend appears encouraging and suggests that more interest is being shown in advanced formal media training in higher institutions of learning, compared with the previous emphasis on apprenticeship training. University training (there are at present seven higher journalism institutions in Nigeria) is now being perceived as an important prerequisite for entry into key positions. Current media job advertisements attest to this.

Most of the better-educated editors (those with university training) are in the south of the country. The picture looks dismal if one considers the fact that there are more problems the media could solve in the northern part of the country, given its population concentration, higher rate of illiteracy and problems of rural underdevelopment. The importance of better-trained media people in this area is self-evident.

Another disquieting fact is that the media institution that is well ahead of the others in the trend towards expansion, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), now the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), has probably the largest share of poorly-educated editors and the largest turnover of personnel. The FRCN employs more than half of the country's editors with minimal formal education. There are proportionately fewer editors with that level of education in independent media institutions. Independent media have about two in five of the country's editors with a sound higher education. The state-government media organizations employ about the same number of editors in this category, whereas the federally-owned FRCN employs just one in five. The broadcast media and newspapers compete for better-qualified editors, but it is clear that the independent mass media—mainly privately owned newspapers—are manned by better-educated elements. The quality of their news packaging and reporting attests to this.

Job orientation

Most of the Nigerian editors studied have held media-related jobs before getting their present positions. These jobs ranged from news assistant to city editor. Some were editors of weeklies and monthlies while others had been heads of programmes in other broadcasting institutions. Most were promoted to their

present positions, whereas a small number had worked in non-media-oriented professions such as teaching, the civil service, and clerical work. At least one editor in the broadcasting sector had had no previous job experience.

A few editors say they are not satisfied with their jobs. Reasons usually given are lack of autonomy or that the jobs are boring and uninteresting. It has been observed by media researchers that dissatisfaction among journalists, especially the young and better educated, results in general from economic grievances, but also from professional considerations such as discrepancies between journalistic ideals and day-to-day practices.

Most editors, however, are 'very satisfied' with their jobs. Most cite 'the creative and exciting nature of the work', while some mention 'full autonomy in decision-making'. 'Organizational policy' and 'job security' are also mentioned. Nigerian editors can be said to enjoy the profession of journalism. Indeed, it has been claimed that the strongest colonial heritage bequeathed to Nigeria is its mass media, which means the journalism profession. This journalistic atmosphere bodes well for mass communication in a country of endemic crises and incompatibility between the government and the press. It underscores the fact that the Nigerian media profession is motivating and has come to stay despite often discouraging circumstances.

General job satisfaction is further explained by a finding that half of the editors would not move to other jobs of the same kind if the opportunity occurred. But many journalists, including editors, would move to jobs of a different kind if the opportunity came. Most of the potential extra-organizational migrants named public relations as the preferred option. None would want to be a government information officer, however. A small number would teach journalism, and an equally small proportion would like to become business executives. At least one respondent would like to be in active politics. This is interesting because nearly all colonial editors ended up in politics.

It seems that another trend is developing and that editors are becoming specialists and not generalists, as were the editor-politicians of yesteryear. But journalists everywhere display more pronounced migratory tendencies than other professionals. An explanation is that mass-media work traditionally has served as an apprenticeship for careers in business and politics.

Income

A career in journalism, especially in developing countries, has often been observed to offer little monetary return. About 28 per cent of Latin American journalists work in extra jobs outside the mass media. They have a yearly average income of $4,800 from all sources. This compares poorly with the median income in the United States of about $11,133 for all journalists.[1]

Although there might be some inequity in terms of income for other categories of newsmen, this situation does not apply to Nigerian newspaper and

1. Day, op. cit. See also Grey and Gerald, op. cit.

broadcast editors. The median income of media editors is about $10,000 per year. They are thus generally better off than the average Nigerian citizen who has a yearly income of about 10 per cent of that amount. An editor's income compares favourably with that of equally responsible Nigerian workers in other occupations. Other affluence indicators identify most Nigerian editors as belonging to the middle class.

Professionalism

The concept of the modern professional communicator is new in Africa. Journalists are still generally regarded as suspect, owing to their insecurity and the lack of mutual confidence between them and the government. But in Nigeria journalism is gaining a fairly high degree of professional acceptance with the rest of the developed world.

Most of the editors belong to professional associations. Most have served their professional associations in reponsible leadership positions. But there is more commitment to the journalistic ideal among newspaper editors than among their counterparts in broadcasting. Younger editors, which also means the more educated ones, tend to belong to professional associations more than their older colleagues.

Journalism associations devote most of their time and resources to helping to improve the profession to serve the public interest better. Unesco groups the activities of professional journalism associations into three categories: (a) promotion of freedom of information, (b) improvement of facilites for professional training, and (c) establishment of professional standards. In Nigeria the newspaper proprietors' association protects and promotes the interests of independent newspaper owners. There is also a guild of editors, which seeks to sustain the dignity of editorship and professional autonomy as well as to protect freedom of the press and improve journalism education and training. A national union of journalists aims at promoting professional standards through training and the establishment of codes of ethical conduct. The Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria seeks to promote the interests of the electronic journalist and to improve programming. Recently a new professional body, the Nigerian Press Organization, has been inaugurated; it aims to bind all the professional organizations together. A code of conduct for the Nigerian press was launched on 25 January 1979. (See the Appendix, pages 58-9, for the opinion of a leading editor.)

Constitutional protection

The Nigerian journalist, like his counterparts elsewhere in the world, strives to make his news-reporting function as important as a government function. He also insists on the constitutional protection of the press against interference by government.

Nigerian journalists put up a vain fight to win for themselves constitutional guarantees of professional freedom during the debate on Nigeria's Draft Constitution, which will usher in a civilian regime in 1979. The journalists started another fight against Military Decree No. 31 of 1978, setting up a Nigerian Press Council, and they now fight for a fair representation on the council.

The Nigerian editor operates according to a code of ethics as a mark of self-regulation. The effect of this ethical code is contestable, for often the weakness of this approach to the problem of journalistic responsibility is to express merely pious hopes. It is exceptional for a professional organization to write disciplinary clauses into its statutes and impose penalties for breaches of a code. Effectiveness has therefore depended on the conscience of individual journalists.

Nearly every country with a British tradition of journalism strives towards insuring freedom for the press. There are press laws in the statute books of Nigeria; yet, as in most countries, these have seldom been used against the press. Infringements of press freedom in developing countries are usually the result of administrative panic action taken under special powers.

The most important function of the press, as journalists everywhere acclaim, is that of acting as a watchdog for the public interest in areas where executive power may be arbitrarily used. The following questions were put to selected Nigerian editors in an attempt to know their attitudes towards some key press principles: (a) Do you believe that the free flow of information is in the public interest? (b) Do you also believe that information about public affairs is of public interest and in the public interest? These questions received a 100-per-cent positive response. Other questions, however, yielded various responses (see Table 9).

TABLE 9. Editors' attitudes towards 'the public interest' (in percentages)

Question	Yes	No
Is the free flow of information in the public interest?	100	—
Is information about public affairs of public interest and in the public interest?	100	—
Is communication diversity in the public interest?	100	—
Is government regulation of certain communication activities affected with a public interest in the public interest?	40	60
Are matters of public interest immune from libel and private recovery?	27	73
Are matters in the public interest immune from libel and private recovery?	40	60
Are the private and official activities of all key government officials in the public interest?	55	45
Even during a period of emergency, should the press report all matters of and in the public interest?	64	36

It is evident then that media editors in Nigeria believe strongly in a free flow of information and diversification of media voices, which increasing government ownership of media facilities could threaten. This concern is not peculiar to any one developing country, even to those in which the press is 'freely owned'. For example, the Indian Press Commission, reporting on the performance of the Indian press, made the following revelation:

> The presentation of news is in respect of the financial interests with which they were allied: There was certain timidity of exposing shortcomings of those who were in positions of power and authority; there was an element of arbitrariness in the publicity given or denied to individuals; there was a tendency to suppress facts which were favourable to their own interests or to the financial interests with which they were associated. The defects can be traced to ownership or editorial working.[1]

On the broadcast side, there is a tendency for the government-owned media to avoid a style of advocacy or petition to the government. Three principal meanings of the term professionalism as seen by English-speaking African broadcast journalists have been identified: (a) initiative with responsibility in relationship to the government, (b) maintenance of standards, and (c) need to motivate and animate staff, increase morale and enhance stability. These professional notions conform to 'state control and a metropolitan frame of reference'.[2]

Press concepts: what the ordinary man thinks

While Nigerian editors continue to worry about the agony of credibility and brinkmanship with their governments, a recent debate on the Nigerian Draft Constitution was an opportunity to listen to what the ordinary person thinks of press freedom and professional autonomy. Opinion was split in favour of and against the inclusion of press freedom as a clause in the proposed Civilian Constitution coming into effect this year, 1979. Typical arguments centred on the fact that the press will be a pivot of the successful working of a prototype American political system which the country is endorsing. Journalists thus should be protected in the course of their jobs in reporting the powers of an executive president. The other opinion opts for no special privilege for journalists because there is no difference between them and the individual. The mass media, it holds, could be controlled and influenced either by governments or by any group of powerful individuals.

A constitutional assembly elected to debate the draft constitution endorsed the idea that the journalist should be seen as an individual and thus deserves

1. This report can be read in more detail in M. Chalapathi Rau, *The Press in India*, Bombay, Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1968.
2. Rita Cruise O'Brien, *Professionalism in Broadcasting: Issues of International Dependence*, p. 32, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, 1976.

no special privilege higher than that given to the ordinary citizen. Notwithstanding a powerful lobby mobilized in the Constituent Assembly and institutionalized editorial opinions in newspapers, Nigerian journalists lost a unique fight for constitutional protection for the press.

6 Communication policy: an alternative proposition

The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, now the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), was 'to work towards a gradual common Nigerian heritage' within the following principles: (a) entertainment should be radio's biggest selling-point to the public, (b) radio is the most potent mass disseminator of culture and information in the world, and (c) radio's purpose in Nigeria is to assist those processes that go towards the making of 'an enlightened democracy'.[1]

Nigeria's communication objective was thus from the start not based on the cultural and psychological frames of reference of Nigerian societies but on the experience and biases of culturally-distant colonial experts and on the pattern of the British Broadcasting Corporation. A type of mass communication was meant to be grafted on to the Nigerian communities with an objective, a format and a frame of reference sympathetic to foreign socio-political idealism. This arrangement underlines Peter Golding's remark that the structure and role of media in the Third World mean that accounts of the media in a single country that make no reference to an international context of dependence are empirically and theoretically barren.[2]

Nor did the BBC pattern end with the granting of independence to Nigeria and the replacement of foreign nationals by Nigerians. The *status quo* was maintained by Nigerians who did not immediately recognize the socio-cultural dimensions of their society. Their thinking had been shaped by and rooted into their foreign training. They had to operate in a familiar style, causing clouds of dysfunction on communication for socio-economic and political change. Experience has shown that this BBC knowledge, though technically redeeming, has proven socially counterproductive in bringing about the desired rapid economic and social change in rural Nigeria. Because of these factors, Nigerian society has made an inadequate impact on mass communication. The mass media have had limited roles in shaping appropriately the

1. I. K. Mackay, *Broadcasting in Nigeria*, p. 53, Ibadan, University of Ibadan Press, 1964. The author reports that the first board of governors of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation was composed entirely of Britons.
2. Peter Golding, 'Media Professionalism in the Third World: The Transfer of an Ideology', in: James Curran *et al.*, *Mass Communication and Society*, p. 291-308, London, Edward Arnold, 1977.

psychological processes, overt behaviour and normative cultures of the rural people.

Cultural diameters

A monolithic format of communication is deemed unsuitable to developing countries, particularly African countries, which are mainly community-oriented. In most instances these communities are entire cultural entities in themselves, distinguishable by distinct languages. In the Bendel State of Nigeria, for instance, there are more than fourteen of such distinct communities within a total population of 2.5 million, which is just 4 per cent of Nigeria's total population.

Media development planners are now suggesting that a communication format such as that of the BBC reduces the potential of local resources, both human and physical, and leads to disenchantment in addition to the evil of 'professional over-kill'. It neglects local needs by emphasizing national systems. Current opinion also underlines the universal sameness found in the style of television and radio presentations. These styles are packaged technologies wrapped with instructions for presenting news programmes or variety shows. Presentations must have 'quality' defined by radio-television classical approaches and a demand for slick production value. Elihu Katz poses a crucial question: 'Cannot Nigerian or Peruvian or Senegalese television be more indigenous, not just in programming, but in style?'[1]

If for the purpose of analysis we regard a typical African country as made up of three distinct concentric cultural diameters represented by the nation, the province and the village, then it is pertinent that communication technologies should be chosen in terms of varied objectives that fit the purposes of each of these diameters. Questions such as those dealing with the personal involvement of the villager in the process of social change and in access to new technologies could then be more usefully tackled along the appropriate diameter. It is the view of this writer that local communication resources should be capitalized upon along these lines. In any African country village sectors occupy more than 70 per cent of the human, physical and psychological geography. Mass media operate usually from the centres, with a universal intention that ignores the strong cultural variables immanent in the crucial village sectors.

From the very start the BBC format, which is structured for colonial propaganda, imposes an authority figure and rejects participation in the village sectors, that is, a means for the villagers to discover themselves, not just being told alien things that they should be doing, thinking or feeling. As recently as 1975 a study by Patrick R. Connoly of the language use in the Nigerian mass media revealed that no mass media are available in the vast majority of Nigerian languages, which number 178; only 27 languages received any mention at all.

1. Elihu Katz, 'Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?' *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1977, p. 113-21.

He concluded that for people who do not understand English or Hausa or Yoruba, the Nigerian mass media barely exist, except in the broadcasting of music.[1] How then do these neglected sectors communicate for their gratification?

Examples of traditional broadcasters

Village sectors in Africa communicate mostly via the market-place of ideas contributed by traditional religion, observances, divination, mythology, witchcraft, cult societies, age-grades, the chief's courts, the elders' square, secret and title societies, the village market square, the village gong-man—indeed the total experiences of the villager in his environment. In examining the role of communication in the organization of the traditional societies of Nigeria within village belief systems and controlled cultural diameters, it may be helpful to look at recent studies[2] of the village gong-man, a well-known and most useful broadcaster of news in rural areas.

Chief Osukute of Akure in Western Nigeria is the senior newsman of the Omode-Owas, the palace messengers of the Oba. He himself rose from the ranks of the Omode-Owas. The 'chief editor' of the palace news, Chief Osukute is also a liaison officer of the palace and the feedback channel for the views of the people to their king. He sends his 'reporters' on 'news beats' to herald dates of traditional ceremonies, warnings of epidemics, dates for cultivation and harvesting and social observances. The post of the village announcer or the 'gbohun-gbohun' in Yorubaland is in most cases a hereditary position. An Ijebu village announcer trains his children in the communication jobs that awaits them. Thus, the young village announcer must be briefed in his early years about the magnitude of his life job—about the Oba's area of influence, about the time, place and utility of the news and about technicalities in the usage of the gong.[3]

In Benin the Avbiogbe, the chief town crier, is the eldest among a group of twenty-one, all of whom are traditional chiefs in the kingdom. While his special assignment is to collect the king's taxes, he assigns his other colleagues to the coverage and dissemination of the news of the kingdom. He is such an important and credible man that it is illegal to insult him or obstruct him, and any misdemeanour on his part or on that of his colleagues results in instant dismissal and other forms of punishment.

The village announcer in Eziokpor village in Bendel State has been described as 'the telephone line between the village chief and the villagers'.

1. Patrick F. Connolly, 'Language Use in the Nigerian Mass Media' (unpublished survey), Boy Scout World Bureau, African Region Office, Yaba, Lagos, 1975.
2. The case studies are selected from various field projects conducted by the author and his students at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
3. Much of the material in this chapter is borrowed from the article 'Tradition and Communication', which the author prepared for the *Journal of Communication* of the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Eziokpor's village gong-man enriches the skeletal messages given to him by the chief with song, fun, riddles and functional language. He is physically fit and generally ugly, and he manipulates his ugliness to catch the people's attention. His news is given generally in the early hours of the morning and again in the late evening. Occasionally at noon he may announce special news, such as the death of an important villager. (Time strategy in news broadcasting is something Africa's mass-media men have yet to recognize.)

In the little village of Ashipa-Ilawo, near Abeokuta in Ogun State, the village announcer is known as the Ashipa. He has the status of a chief, but he does not rule the village and is responsible to the most senior chief. Yet 'the Ashipa is the people, the people the Ashipa', owing to the unquestionable credibility of his announcements. He may strike the gong often before his announcements but variety is given by his playing of the 'Gbedu' drum, which indicates the importance of his message. Being the prime medium of communication, he is much respected by the chiefs and the people.

A Hausa village announcer is called the Mai Shela. He is a legendary figure, aided by the general belief that he is the appointee of Allah, but he is selected by the Sarki or ruler of the village. Being revered and respected as a holy man, his body is inviolate and his announcements undoubted. The culmination of his yearly responsibilities is when he predicts and announces the date and time of sighting the religious Ramadan moon.

A jester, an announcer and a confidant of the elders and the Ofor—these are the roles of the village announcer in the Isukwuator village in Imo State. He has been described as 'an institution synonymous with traditional authority'. It is to his credit that he was found very useful in the rehabilitation of the villages following the civil disturbances in this area of Nigeria.

Despite the rapid growth of the city of Ibadan and the presence of mass communication and expanding literacy, the tradition of the village announcer has survived locally. He is still an important servant of the Olubadan in the sphere of message diffusion and is found everywhere in the market squares in his traditional black 'danshiki', with his gong and cap to match. Among his many sacred duties are his announcements of the royal proclamation of the celebration days for the religious festivals of the Egungun and the Sango.

These brief descriptions of village announcers in various communities emphasize the following attributes of an African communicator: (a) he knows his culture, (b) he interprets his culture to fit the objectives of his society, (c) he is not only respected and revered but perceived as authoritative and credible, and (d) the notes from his communication medium, the gong or the drum, are decoded appropriately and receive attention from the specific audiences to whom they are addressed.

The gongman thus occupies an important position in the diffusion of messages within the belief systems of the rural audiences of Africa. Obviously, he is used quite adequately in transmitting traditional everyday observances. But isn't it important that his role be understood and recognized in the communication of rural change? This is a poser for policy-makers and a challenge for creativity by communication managers and information planners.

Conclusion

Perhaps what mass communication in Nigeria has failed to do, and this may be one of the major causes of its problems, is to establish a chain of mutual interdependence between the traditional or cultural diameter of the peasant villager and its own new stimuli. The mass media should 'fit into larger communication systems of the country'.

In Nigeria mass communication in the village can be looked at in the context of the village market square as a web of group affiliations, a node of information, a medium that attracts the mass of its audience physically and socially to itself to receive a socially mediated communication diversified according to need. The village market square is a 'powerful integrative force,' 'an important news and gossip centre and a place of ceremonials and parades', a meeting place for relatives and friends from different localities and a place where people congregate to hear news from distant places. It therefore functions as a mass medium. Even in cities such as Ibadan, the open markets still have an important communication role and might even compete with the mass media as alternative sources of information. It is definitely premature to accept any single hypothesis to explain the diffusion of ideas and symbol formation in a traditional village.

Appendix

Demography and geography

TABLE 1. Population and size of the states of Nigeria

State	Population	Size in km²
Anambra	3,571,072	15,770
Bauchi	2,193,674	61,814
Bendel	2,435,839	38,061
Benue	3,041,194	69,740
Borno	2,990,526	116,589
Cross River	3,600,000	29,164
Gongola	3,002,808	102,067
Imo	3,658,125	13,032
Kaduna	4,098,305	70,293
Kano	5,774,842	42,123
Kwara	2,309,338	73,404
Lagos	1,443,567	3,535
Niger	1,271,767	73,555
Ondo	2,727,675	18,165
Ogun	1,551,946	20,241
Oyo	5,158,884	42,862
Plateau	2,026,657	56,245
Rivers	1,800,000	21,172
Sokoto	4,538,808	94,588

Source: Nigeria Year Book 1977-1978, Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd.

The Nigerian mass media

The figures in the following tables are based on *Nigerian Media Rates and Conditions* as of 1 January 1976, compiled by Ogilvy Benson & Mather, Lagos.

TABLE 2. Circulation of daily newspapers (in thousands)

Name	Circulation	Name	Circulation
Daily Times	200	*Nigerian Tide*	36
Daily Sketch	70	*Nigerian Chronicle*	25
Daily Star	50	*Nigerian Standard*	15
Daily Express	10	*Nigerian Herald*	40
New Nigerian	80	*Nigerian Tribune*	60
Nigerian Observer	70	*Evening Times*	30

TABLE 3. Circulation of weeklies (in thousands)

Name	Circulation	Name	Circulation
Sunday Times	300	*Sporting Record*	50
Sunday Sketch	85	*Weekly Pools Guide*	30
Sunday Observer	90	*Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo*	36
Sunday Star	50	*Irohin Yoruba*	60
Sunday Punch	70	*Gbohun Gbohun*	50
Lagos Weekend	180	*Lagos This Week*	25
Business Times	15	*Business Guardian*	20
Times International	20		

TABLE 4. Circulation of monthly magazines (in thousands)

Name	Circulation	Name	Circulation
Black Image	30	*Headlines*	160
Apollo	10	*Home Studies*	20
Drum	200	*Entertainer*	60
Happy Home	25	*Management in Nigeria*	3
Indigo	25	*Medical & Pharmaceutical Marketing Journal*	8
Joy	30	*Motorist*	18
Modern Woman	25	*Nigerian Business Digest*	5
Spear	60	*Radio Times*	10
Trust	100	*African Winner*	7
Woman World	20	*The Lagoon*	4
African Development	2	*The People*	10
African Spark	10	*West African Technical Review*	6
Africa	15	*African Woman*	5
Afriscope	10	*Higher Education*	10
Building Construction	5		

TABLE 5. Estimated numbers of radio and television sets

States	Radio sets	Television sets
Lagos, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun (west)	1,500,000	—
Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto, Gongola, Benue, Plateau, Niger, Borno, Kwara, Bauchi (north)	1,000,000	—
Imo, Anambra, Cross River and Rivers (east)	700,000	—
Bendel (mid-west)	300,000	—
TOTAL	3,500,000	150,000

Television stations in Nigeria

Appendix

Code of Conduct for the Nigerian Press

The following code came into force on 25 January 1979:

The public is entitled to the truth and only correct information can form the basis for sound journalism and ensure the confidence of the people.

It is the moral duty of every journalist to have respect for the truth and to publish or prepare for publication only the truth and to the best of his knowledge.

It is the duty of the journalist to publish only facts; never to suppress such facts as he knows; never to falsify to suit either his own purposes or any other purposes.

It is the duty of the journalist to refuse any reward for publishing or suppressing news or comments, other than salary and allowances legitimately earned in the discharge of his professional duties.

The journalist shall employ all legitimate means in the collection of news and he shall defend at all times the right to free access, provided that due regard is paid to the privacy of individuals.

Once information has been collected and published the journalist shall observe the universally accepted principle of secrecy and shall not disclose the source of information obtained in confidence.

It is the duty of the journalist to regard plagiarism as unethical.

It is the duty of every journalist to correct any published information found to be incorrect.

On 25 January 1979 Tunji Oseni, editor of the *Sunday Times*, published the following editorial under the title 'Major Milestone':

The launching today of the Code of Conduct for the Nigerian Press is a milestone in the development of the profession in the country. Such a code of conduct is a necessity for at least four reasons.

First, a standard is thereby being established. It is one by which professionals are themselves bound, since it is of their own voluntary reaction, adjudged by them to be in their own interest and in the interest of the profession.

Second, the code offers clear guidelines for those who may genuinely not know or those who are just coming into the profession. It is therefore not just to assume that each such person shall do the professional right only as he sees or deems fit. There is a code to go by or refer to.

Third, the public who are the consumers of what the journalists offer, are also enabled to know what the journalists have pledged themselves to be bound by. Once the code is given wide publicity (by the media themselves), the critical public shall be in a position to pick up erring journalists, doing so with the code as background and reference point.

Fourth, by the code, the journalist is saying that he is prepared to match his privilege and rights with responsibility and obligation.

The launching of the code today is the culmination of at least seventeen years of effort, and possibly dithering.

During the Easter of 1962, the Nigerian Guild of Editors, meeting in Lagos, had put together a 'Code of Conduct for Nigerian Journalists'.

The Nigeria Union of Journalists also has in its books a code of conduct.

But a new momentum started gathering last year. By May 1978, the three professional bodies—the Newspaper Proprietor's Association of Nigeria (NPAN), the Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE) and the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ)—working together, had approved a uniform Code of Conduct for the Nigerian Press.

For the record, it must be stated that the three professional bodies had approved a code of conduct for professionals in journalism six months before the Nigerian Press Council Decree was promulgated, which council has been assigned the duty of 'preparing a code of conduct for the guidance of the Press and journalists'.

Historically, codes of conduct have always stressed the following concerning the practice of a profession: truthfulness, responsibility, sincerity, impartiality, fair play, decency, accuracy and so on.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has had a code of ethics since 1923 and the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, has one which it revised as late as November 1973. The code itself, while it contains articles that should hold for all time, is also a dynamic instrument.

The journalism profession in Nigeria is not unaware that the journalist is himself a product of the society in which he lives. Thus, the question has been raised whether one should realistically expect a higher order of performance from anybody of whichever profession, who is himself a member of a society which is itself not perfect.

The question glosses over the fact that each citizen still has his own decision to make, and his own conscience to follow. The fact is that there is good and there is bad and the adult, ultimately, has a choice.

Pressures there may well be; but discipline there also should be. And each person cannot escape responsibility for his own decision. Where such a decision impinges on the image of a whole profession and several men and women, it behoves the citizen making the decision to consider it from an angle that is not just selfish.

He has a privilege and a right; he must also therefore exercise responsibility and discharge obligation.

As one author has put it: 'The question of ethics forces the journalist to consider his basic principles, his values, his obligations to himself and others .... Ethics forces the journalist to a consideration of the highest good'.

It is interesting that the Nigerian press is launching its Code of Conduct today, three days after the announcement that the Nigerian Bar will also be establishing their own professional code of conduct.

The doctors have always had a code. Other professionals have established theirs. 'The social responsibility of the journalist', says Stockbridge, 'is as highly charged with social import as the responsibility of the physician for the relief of the ills of the human body, the clergyman for the moral and spiritual welfare of his parishioners' soul; a responsibility of far greater social consequences than that of the lawyer and the engineer and immeasurably greater than that of the farmer, the businessman or the banker.'

It appears to me quite possible that the present awakening to standards in Nigeria may have to do with the emphasis on discipline which this administration has hammered on consistently. That may have provided the psychological atmosphere within which discussions on codes become relevant and welcome.

The Nigerian journalist must of course be aware that once the code is launched, it will have to be enforced, and rigidly so if there has to be meaning to the exercise.

Fortunately, the profession has men who can afford to hold their heads high and these it must be proud of and thankful for. But it also has some in whom the code will instil fear. It is such journalists that must be thrown out.

The stakes are indeed high. The result of an enforcement would be either grave or great. It could be grave for those who came into journalism because they saw the profession as an avenue for indulging in anti-social practices.

But it could also be great—if the bad eggs are successfully purged with a consequential rise in the level of integrity and professionalism in the country's mass media.

The day may not be long when journalists can look anybody in the eye and, where need be, volunteer to cast the traditional first stone.

The Code of Conduct for the Nigerian Press that is being launched today touches, in its declaration, issues like truth, reward, suppression, means of collection of news, right to free access, privacy of individuals, source of information, correction of wrong publication.

'Government in its broadest sense is justice and nothing more', General Obasanjo said in Khartoum in July 1978, and also repeated at his TV interview recently.

The best of government and the best of journalism can serve the same end of ensuring justice. Today's ceremony could bring Nigerian journalism to a higher level of performance in the interest of those who matter most in the equation: the people.

TABLE 6. Newspapers and magazines, 1859-1965.
D = daily, W = weekly, F = fortnightly, M = monthly, Q = quarterly

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Iwe Irohin (F), Abeokuta	Dec. 1859	Printer, publisher, C.M.S. Press; editor, the Rev. Mr Townsend
The Anglo-African (F), Lagos	1863	Editor, printer, publisher, Robert Campbell
Lagos Times and Gold Coast Colony Advertiser (F), Lagos	10 Nov. 1880	Editor, printer, Andrew M. Thomas; publisher, R. B. Blaize
Lagos Times and Gold Coast Colony Advertiser (W), Lagos	1890	Editor, printer, Andrew M. Thomas; publisher, R. B. Blaize
Lagos Observer (F), Lagos	15 Feb. 1882	Editor, printer, publisher, J. Bagan Benjamin, assisted by Robert Campbell as manager
The Eagle and Lagos Critic (M/F), Lagos	31 March 1883	Editor, owner, Owen Emeric Macaulay
The Mirror (F), Lagos	17 Dec. 1887	Editor, owner, P. Adolphus Marke
Lagos Standard (W), Lagos	1893	Editor, owner, George Alfred Williams; fellow owners, Samuel Herbert and Alfred O. Taiwo
The Lagos Echo (revived *Lagos Observer)* (W), Lagos	1891	Editor, publisher, J. Bagan Benjamin
Lagos Weekly Times (W), Lagos	1890	Editor, John Payne Jackson; owner, Consul Leigh
Lagos Weekly Record, new name of *Weekly Times* (W), Lagos	1 Jan. 1891	Publisher, editor, J.P. Jackson; sponsors, Candido da Rocha and David Augustus
The Nigerian Chronicle (W), Lagos	Registered 23 Oct. 1908, appeared in Nov.	Editor, printer, publisher, Chri Kumolu Johnson; fellow owners, Samuel Johnson and Joshua Johnson
The Nigerian Times (W), Lagos	5 Sept 1910	Editor, publisher, James Bright Davies
Times of Nigeria (change of title) (W), Lagos	18 Dec. 1913	Editor, publisher, James Bright Davies
The Nigerian Pioneer (W), Lagos	Registered 10 Jan. 1914, appeared later	Editor, publisher, Kitoye Ajasa, replaced by his son in 1928
VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS		
Iwe Irohin Eko (F), Lagos	1888	Editor, publisher, Andrew M. Thomas
Unwana Efik (F), Calabar	1885	Produced by the Church of Scotland Mission

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Obukpong Efik (F), Calabar	1885	Produced by the Church of Scotland Mission
The Yoruba News, bilingual (W), Ibadan	23 May 1923	Owners, D.A. Obasa and Chief Salami Agbaje
Eko Akete (W), Lagos	18 July 1922	Editor, Adeoye Deniga; printer, Tika-Tore Press
Eleti-Ofe, bilingual (W), Lagos	9 Dec. 1923	Editor, publisher, E.A. Akintan; printer, Akin Adeshigbin
Eko Igbehin (W), Lagos	9 Dec. 1925	Publisher; Olagunju Oni
Akede Eko (W), Lagos	23 Dec 1927	Editor, publisher, I.B. Thomas; printer, Akin Adeshigbin of Tika-Tore Press
Osumare Egba (W), Abeokuta	21 Nov. 1925	Publisher, Nigerian Blessed Press
Irohin Yoruba (W), Ibadan	3 Nov. 1945	Founded by Service Press Ltd, later moved to Lagos
Egbaland Echo, bilingual (W), Lagos	28 Aug. 1947	Editor, publisher, Chief Ayo Ajala
Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo (W), Zaria	1 Jan. 1939	Northern Literature Agency, later Gaskiya Corporation
Irohin Imole (W), Lagos	—	
Imole Owuro (W), Ogbomoso	—	Owner, E. Adise
Laberin Ekklesia (M), Jos	7 Dec. 1959	Sudan Interior Mission
Yoruba Challenge (M), Lagos	—	Sudan Interior Mission
Kahaki (Hausa) (M), Kagoro (North)	—	Sudan Interior Mission
RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPERS		
African Church Gleaner (W), Lagos	8 Sept. 1917	Printer, publisher, the Rev. Supt. G.A Oke of U.N.A. Church
African Hope (W), Lagos	28 March 1919	Printer, publisher, the Rev. Supt. G.A. Oke of U.N.A. Church
In Leisure Hours (W), Lagos	31 Aug. 1917	C.M.S. Bookshop and Press
The Nigerian Methodist (W), Lagos	3 Feb. 1925	Publisher, Methodist Church; printer, Peter J.C. Thomas
African Christian (M), Aba	11 March 1931	Rev. Ebenezer Bresi-Ando of West African Episcopal Church
West African Christian (M), Jos	15 Aug. 1947	Publisher, Sudan Interior Mission
Nigerian Methodist Review (M), Lagos	12 Aug. 1948	Methodist Church
The Qua Iboe Church Magazine (biannual), Uyo	1960	Qua Iboe Mission

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Confraternity Magazine (M), Owerri	1963	Roman Catholic Mission
The War Cry (W), Lagos	1925	Salvation Army Church
Christian Comment (W), Lagos	1951	
African Church Chronicle (M), Lagos	20 Dec. 1949	Publisher, Samuel O. Peters for the Church
African Challenge (new name of *West African Christian)* (M), Mushin, Ikeja District	1951	Sudan Interior Mission, which shifted *West African Christian* from Jos
By the Lagoon (M), Lagos	1948	The Provost, Christ Church Cathedral
The Leader (M), Owerri	1955	Roman Catholic Church
Catholic Life (M), Calabar		Roman Catholic Mission
The Christian Teacher (Q), Lagos		Sudan Interior Mission
Nigerian Baptist (M), Ibadan		Baptist Mission
Looking Forward (M), Ondo		Anglican Church, Ondo Diocese
PROFESSIONAL AND TRADE JOURNALS		
Nigerian Law Journal (Q), Lagos	14 Dec. 1921	Joint editors and publishers, Barristers E.M.E. Agbebi and A.O. Delo-Dosunmu
Nigerian Labour Bulletin (M), Lagos	1 March 1923	Editor, publisher, J.A. Olushola
Lagos Musical Journal (Q), Lagos	1925	T. K. E. Phillips
Nigerian Law Quarterly Review (Q), Lagos	6 March 1946	Nigerian Bar Association, secretary: Alhaji Jibril Martins
Labour Champion (D), Lagos	16 Sept. 1949	Editor, F.O. Ebuwa; publisher, Nduka Eze
The Nigerian Scouter (Q), Lagos	4 Oct. 1949	Boy Scouts Association of Nigeria
The Nigerian Teacher (M), Lagos		Federal Ministry of Education
Teachers' Monthly (M), Ibadan		West Ministry of Education
The Nigerian Nurse (M), Lagos		
African Staff Mentor (M), Lagos	30 Nov. 1935	Publisher, D.R. Bowlay-Williams; printer, E.S. Ikoli
West African Farms, Trade and Industries Guardian (M), Lagos	6 Nov. 1944	Publisher, A.S.O. Coker of Farmer's Bank

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
GENERAL-INTEREST PAPERS		
African Messager (W), Lagos	5 March 1921	Editor, publisher, Ernest Ikoli; printers Tika-Tore Press
Nigerian Spectator (W), Lagos	15 May 1923	Editor, publisher, Dr R. Akinwande Savage
The Aurora (W), Onitsha	1914	Editor, printer, William C. Labor
The Coaster (M), Lagos	Sept. 1927	Publisher, Lawrence Benson; printer, John Tychus Williams of Awoboh Press
Advanced Opinion (M), Lagos	Dec. 1923	Owner, Ellis Nicol St. John
Nigerian Advocate (W), Lagos	21 Aug. 1926	Publisher, S. H. Braithwaite; printer, S. H. Pearse
The Dawn (formerly *Aurora*) (W), Aba, Port Harcourt	21 Dec. 1925	Editor, printer, publisher, W. C. Labor
Advanced Opinion (M), Lagos	12 Dec. 1923	Owners, E. N. St. John, J. O. Brunet and L A. Cardoso
Lagos Daily News (D), Lagos	9 Oct. 1925	First published by Victor Bababunmi, taken over in 1928 by Herbert Macaulay and Dr J. A. Caulcrick
Egba National Harper (W), Abeokuta	30 March 1926	Owner, A. Folarin; printer, Akin Adeshigbin
The Coaster (M), Lagos	9 Sept. 1927	Publisher, Lawrence Benson
Nigeria Daily Telegraph (D), Lagos	22 Dec. 1927	Owner, publisher, H. Antus Williams
Nigerian Evening News (D), Lagos	28 May 1929	Editor, publisher, I. B. Thomas; printer, Aganga Williams
Nigerian Observer (W), Port Harcourt	25 Sept. 1929	Editor, printer, publisher, L.R. Potts-Johnson
Nigerian Daily Mail (D), Lagos	20 Jan. 1930	Editor, publisher, Ernest Ikoli
West African Nationhood (M), Lagos	31 Jan. 1932	Publisher, J.C. Zizer; editor, G.E. Spencer
Nigerian Weekly Despatch (W), Onitsha	13 Sept. 1930	Editor, publisher, Samuel Cole-Edwards; printer, Akin Adeshigbin
African Sunday Digest (W), Lagos	17 March 1931	Editor, owner, J. C. Zizer; publisher, J. C. Roberts
Nigerian Daily Herald (D), Lagos	11 April 1931	E. R. Ajayi
Nigerian Daily Echo, new name of *Eko Akete* (D, W), Lagos	3 March 1932	Publisher, Adeoye Deniga; name changed again to *Eko Akete* (weekly) on 25 Feb. 1937
The Nigerian Echo (W), Aba	29 Dec. 1932	Editor, A.C. Howells; publisher, Daniel Joseph-Emmanuel
The Comet (W), Lagos	14 July 1933	Editor, publisher, Duse Mohammed Ali

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Nigerian Evening Standard (D), Lagos	27 June 1934	Editor, publisher, W. E. Akaje-Macaulay; printer, Akin Adeshigbin of Tika-Tore Press
Olumo Weekly Record (W), Abeokuta	5 Feb. 1935	Editor, publisher, S.O. Sotayo
Service (W), Lagos	12 March 1933	Editor, publisher, Ernest Ikoli
Daily Service (D), Lagos	9 April 1938	Owner, P. W. O. Cardoso; later Service Press Limited (28 Dec. 1938); editor, Ernest Ikoli
Nigerian Eastern Mail (W), Calabar	15 May 1935	Publisher, C.W. Clinton, later replaced by his son, J. V. Clinton as editor, publisher
West African Star (W), Warri	16 June 1935	Joint owners, publishers, J. W. A. Egbe (editor), I. T. Palmer
West African Adviser (W), Calabar	7 May 1935	Publishers, J. T. John, M. T. Nottidge (editor)
Youth Monthly Dairy (M), Ogbomosho	1 Oct. 1935	Publisher, E. A. Atilade; printer, Akio Adeshigbin of Tika-Tore Press
Nigerian Provincial (W), Oshogbo	30 Jan. 1936	Printer, publisher, J. Babs Layeni
Nigerian Messenger (W), Onitsha	6 June 1936	Editor, publisher, J. Gladstone Nezianya; printed in Lagos by Akin Adeshigbin of Tika-Tore Press
West African Pilot (D), Lagos	22 Nov. 1937	—
African Public Opinion (M), Lagos	22 Dec. 1937	Publisher, J. A. O. Odufunade
The African Star (D), Lagos	20 Jan. 1938	Publisher, printer, Akin Fagbenro-Beyioku
Western Echo (W), Ibadan	17 Aug. 1939	Publisher, Ebun Ogunmefun; new owner on 14 Aug. 1945, D.T. Akinbiyi
Nigerian Herald (new name of *Dawn* (W), Aba	12 Dec. 1939	Editor, printer, publisher, William C. Labor
New Times of Nigeria (D), Ibadan	25 Sept. 1947	Publisher, Oba Sir Adesoji Aderemi, Ori of Ife; editor, Emmanuel Obahiagbon
Eastern Nigeria Guardian (D), Port Harcourt	22 Dec. 1940	Zik's Press Ltd
African Mirror (D), Lagos	13 June 1940	Lawrence Montacute's Printing & Publishing Co. (E. C. Thompson and Daniel Head)
Ijebu Weekly Echo (W), Lagos	1947	J. J. Odufuwa
Abeokuta Weekly Herald (Alore Egba) (W), Abeokuta	29 Oct. 1940	Publisher, owner, S. G. A. Sowande

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Nigerian Spokesman (D), Onitsha	27 Jan. 1943	Zik's Press Ltd
The Nigerian News (W), Lagos	22 Oct. 1945	Publisher, the Rev. T. A. Dokobiri
Everybody's Daily (D), Lagos	2 Dec. 1946	Joint publishers, M. R. B. Ottun, Magnus A. Williams
Nigerian Daily Echo (D), Port Harcourt	27 June 1947	Printer, publisher, Isaac Warrior-Osika
West African Express (W), Lagos	2 July 1948	Publisher, E. C. Thompson
French African Bulletin (Journal des Africains Français) (M), Lagos	25 Nov. 1947	Publisher, Samuel J. Cadmus
Nigerian Sports Herald (W), Lagos	26 Aug. 1946	Publisher, Lawrence J. O. Faneye
African Echo (formerly *Ijebu Weekly Echo)* (W), Lagos	7 Sept. 1948	Publisher, J. J. Odufuwa
The Benin (Edo) Voice (W), Benin City	18 Sept. 1948	Publisher, M. Lawal-Osula
Daily Success (D), Lagos	1951	Publisher, J. U. Isuman
Nigerian Citizen (biweekly), Zaria	4 Sept. 1948	Gaskiya Corporation
The Nigerian Standard (W), Sapele	15 Feb. 1949	Publisher, G. O Oweh
The Nigerian Voice (D), Lagos	13 May 1949	Publisher, M. R. Ojikutu
New Africa (D), Onitsha	8 June 1949	Publisher, P. E. Chukwurah
The Northern Advocate (W), Jos	5 Aug. 1949	Editor, publisher, Bob Ogbuagu
Sporting Review (W), Lagos	16 Nov. 1949	Editor, publisher, J. E. Bonar-Ekanem
Morning Star (bilingual) (W), Ibadan	2 Dec. 1949	Owner, Akin Showunmi; publisher, J. O. Adigun
Nigerian Tribune (D), Ibadan	1 Oct. 1949	African Press Ltd; director, Chief Obafemi Awolowo
The Nigerian Star (W), Sapele	2 Feb. 1950	Mid-Western Press Ltd, Anthony Enahoro
Eastern States Express (D), Aba	8 Dec. 1949	Owner, publisher , Dr E. U. Udoma
The Star of Oduduwaland (M), Lagos	28 Jan. 1950	Publisher, editor, Chief Ajani Olujare
Occult World Review (M), Lagos	23 Aug. 1945	Publisher, editor, Chief Ajani Olujare
Nigerian Sunday Dispatch (W), Ibadan	1950	African Press Ltd, director, Chief Obafemi Awolowo
West African Examiner (D), Port Harcourt	14 Jan. 1950	Enitona Printing Press (now taken over by Dr N. Orizu)

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Weekly Digest (W), Enugu	21 March 1950	Publisher, Johnson Aiyeola
Nigerian Freedom (M), Calabar	3 July 1950	Publisher, Eyo Ita
Nigerian Woman (M), Abeokuta	1950	Publisher, Mrs Funmi Ransome-Kuti
The Western Leader (W), Ibadan	1951	Editor, publisher, A. des Dokubo
Nigerian Peoples Voice (D), Lagos	1951	Publisher, Chief H. O. Davies
Southern Nigerian Defender (D), Warri	1943	Zik's Press Ltd
The Eastern Sentinel (D, Enugu	1952	Zik's Press Ltd
Nigeria Review (W), Lagos	1942	Public Relations Department
Children's Own Paper (M), Lagos	1946	Public Relations Department
Radio-TV Times (W), Lagos	1955	Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation
Federal Nigeria (M), Lagos	1958	Federal Ministry of Information
Western Nigeria Illustrated (Q), Ibadan		West Ministry of Education
Nigeria Magazine (Q), Lagos	1939	Federal Ministry of Information
West Nigeria Co-operative News (Q), Ibadan		Co-operative Union of Western Nigeria
Ibadan (Q), Ibadan		University of Ibadan
Daily Standard (D), Calabar	1953	Old Calabar Press
Nigerian Statesman (W), Lagos	1947	W. O. Briggs
West African Vanguard (D), Nesho		Chief J. O. Fadahunsi
Mid-West Champion (D), Warri/Benin	1959	Mrs Victoria Okotie-Eboh
Nigerian Affairs (Q), Ibadan	1962	Nigeria Society, University College
The Independent (W), Ibadan	1962	Catholic Mission
Insight Magazine (Q), Lagos	1962	British High Commission
Nsukka Record (M), Nsukka	1963	Jackson College, University of Nigeria
The Coal Miner (M), Enugu	1963	Nigerian Coal Corporation
Eagle Magazine (M), Onitsha	1963	Etudo Press Ltd

TABLE 6 *continued*

Name and place	First issue	Editor/Publisher/Printer
Business and Industry (M), Port Harcourt	1962	A. Azema and Co. Ltd
Farmers Monthly (M), Umahia	1963	Nzeribe Orunta
West African Trumpet (M), Ebute-Metta, Enugu	1963	Mount Zion (Religious) Enterprises
Eastern Observer (D), Onitsha	1958	Allied Newspapers Ltd
African Ladies Journal (M), Yaba	8 Nov. 1960	African Publishing and Printing Co. Ltd
Lagos This Week Lagos	6 Feb. 1963	Miss Iro Myrianthousi (British)
Amber (M), Apapa	1963	Hilda Ogunbanjo
Daily Mail (D), Fegge, Kano	19 Jan. 1961	Federal Press Ltd (Northern People's Congress)
Everybody's Journal (M), S/Lerc	2 Feb. 1962	Felix Bayo Davies
Advance (M), Idi-Oro	1965	Wahab Goodluck (Nigerian Trade Union Congress)
Home Studies (M), Lagos	1965	Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd
Nigerian Worker (M), Ebute-Metta	15 Sept. 1965	Lawrence Eorha, Secretary, United Labour Congress
Daily Sketch (D), Ibadan	2 April 1964	Augustus Oladipo Adebayo (later: Sketch Publishing Company Ltd)
Sporting Record and Pools Guide (W), Lagos	17 Nov. 1961	Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company Ltd
West African Nursing Journal (Q), Yaba	16 June 1964	Osita Aduba
Journal of Nigeria Medical Association (Q), Apapa	1964	Nigeria Medical Association

Source: Increase H. E. Coker, *Landmarks of the Nigerian Press*, Apapa Nigerian National Press Ltd, 1968.